A NOTE-BOOK OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

1400-1920

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A NOTE-BOOK OF EUROPEAN HISTORY 1400–1920

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BY

S. H. McGRADY

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PREFACE

THIS Note-Book is intended to serve as a guide and friend to students of European History.

One of the drawbacks of history teaching—as practical teachers know only too well—is the examination grind, and the more easily and efficiently this task is accomplished, the longer the time for genuine history work.

Moreover, whether one is working for examinations or not, a general framework of knowledge has to be acquired. It is constructing this framework that the student often finds so difficult, since, lacking historical perspective, he is unable to get a clear outline. There is a certain groundwork to be mastered, without which no progress can be made.

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A NOTE-BOOK OF EUROPEAN HISTORY 1400–1920

PART I

THE AGE OF MEDIEVAL DECAY

THE outstanding characteristics of the Middle Ages are:

(1) The semi-agricultural and semi-military organization known as the **Feudal System.**

(2) The moral and intellectual dominance of the **Holy Catholic Church.**

Note: (i) *The Absence of Nationality.* — In theory Christendom was ruled by the spiritual power of the Pope and the secular power of the Holy Roman Empire, but there was no real unity.

(ii) *Relative Stability.* — New ideas matured slowly in the medieval mind. What education existed was an ecclesiastical monopoly, limited by authority and superstition.

I THE DECLINE OF FEUDALISM

The collapse of ancient civilization, the breakdown of central authority, and the violence and disorder of the Dark Ages, resulted in the development of Feudalism in Western Europe. Feudalism was:

(1) **A System of Local Government,** in which private taxation, private armies, and private justice took the place of the central government, so that every landowner was a petty sovereign in his own domain.

(2) **A System of Local Industry.** — Land, owing to the decay of towns and of commerce, became the only form of wealth. Each manor, cultivated for the most part by serfs, maintained an isolated, self-supporting village community — producing the food, tools, and clothes needed by its occupants.

Feudalism reached its height between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries, and then gradually declined with the revival of civilization.

CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF FEUDALISM

(1) THE ECONOMIC STERILITY OF SERFDOM

Serfdom, like ancient slavery, did not pay its expenses. The result was the gradual emancipation of the serfs and the rise of free laborers, owing to:

(*a*) **Commutation** — (i) Economic pressure caused landlords to favor hired labor which produced better results. Hence, they commuted all services of villeins for money-rents, first in the case of shepherds, then of ploughmen, and then, more slowly, of reapers, ditchers, and threshers. (ii) Villeins who worked their holdings were able to purchase their freedom. (iii) Villeins often fled to towns.

(*b*) **The Black Death** (1348–1349), after which there were fewer men to cultivate the same amount of land. Hence: (i) Landlords were forced to offer higher wages. (ii) Nomadic free laborers wandered in search of better pay. (iii) It was impossible to cultivate the whole demesne, and therefore parts

were let out to villeins or to laborers, who would accept them only as free farmers. (iv) Villeins whose masters refused to commute their services often fled.

"By 1500 A.D. serfdom had virtually disappeared in Italy, in most parts of France, and in England. Some less favored countries retained serfdom much longer. Prussian, Austrian, and Russian serfs did not receive their freedom until the nineteenth century."

(2) THE RISE OF NATIONAL KINGSHIPS (*see* Chap. VII)

As civilization advanced the need grew for order and security. Hence, Feudalism gradually gave way before the rising power of the crown. The Hundred Years' War was a great step towards the unity of France (1337–1453). In England the anarchy of the Wars of the Roses (1455–1485) caused the nation to welcome the strong rule of the Tudors. After the Moors were driven into their last stronghold, the Kingdom of Granada (1238), there followed the unification in Spain of the Christian kingdoms.

(3) THE GROWTH OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE AND THE RISE OF TOWNS

Nothing marks more strongly the backwardness of the Dark Ages than the absence of great cities — always the home of civilization. In the eleventh century, however, the growth of trade led to the beginning of a revival.

(*a*) At first a city owed allegiance to the feudal lord on whose territory it had grown, and the citizens ranked not much higher than serfs.

(*b*) Later, the degree of freedom they won varied. In France, England, and Spain, where the royal power was strong, they obtained exemption from feudal burdens, but did not become self-governing. In Germany, Flanders, and Italy, however, many cities secured their independence, owing to the weakness of the central government.

Within the cities all servile conditions ceased. There came into existence a middle class between the nobles and the peasants. Hitherto land had been the only source of wealth; but now another form of wealth, based on manufacture and trade, arose.

Flanders became the centre of woollen manufacture, with important cities in Ghent, Bruges, and Antwerp.

Germany. — The feeble rule of the German kings forced the cities to form confederacies to resist the feudal lords, e.g. the Hansa, consisting of about eighty towns, led by Lubeck, was firmly established by 1300, and reached its greatest power about 1400.

France. — Marseilles, Lille, Dijon, Toulouse.

Spain. — Barcelona.

Italy. — The cities owed their prosperity to their Eastern trade. By the end of the fifteenth century Venice was the greatest trading centre in Europe, with control over the Morea, Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus. Pisa traded over the whole Mediterranean. Florence had commercial establishments in the Levant. Genoa reached its height about 1250.

(4) WAR AND PESTILENCE

E.g. the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453); the Black Death (1348–1349). The result of economic dislocation was the rising of the working classes — the Jacquerie in France (1358), and the Peasants' Revolt in England (1381).

(5) THE DISCOVERY OF GUNPOWDER

struck a blow at Feudalism. Not only were the castles of turbulent nobles rendered useless, but the peasant was enabled to fight the knight on equal terms.

Note, however, that the supremacy of the Armed Knight was threatened before cannon became of practical use: e.g. the English longbow at Crecy; the defeats of

French chivalry by the burgesses of Flanders. Florence cast metal cannon in 1325, but artillery did not become formidable until the sixteenth century, and firearms until the seventeenth.

The collapse of Feudalism in Western Europe was owing to a "series of changes — economic, political and military, intellectual and religious — having a double character of destruction and construction."

II THE DECAY OF THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH

(1) ITS CIVILIZING INFLUENCE

The barbarian invasions and the collapse of Roman Imperialism left the Church the only organized force in Western Europe. Its task was the rebuilding of civilization. Without it the Dark Ages would have remained mere savagery. It was the guiding influence of all the great movements of the Middle Ages — the crusades, the religious orders, the universities, and scholastic philosophy. The Church:

(i) *Kept alive the spirit of self-denial and of charity* in a low condition of society.

(ii) *Preserved the Roman legal tradition* in the modified form of canon law.

(iii) *Promoted education.* (*a*) The libraries of the monasteries preserved and copied manuscripts; (*b*) the monastery and cathedral schools preserved the arts of reading and of writing; (*c*) Latin, on which literature depended, was kept alive by the papal supremacy, and the Latin liturgy and scriptures.

(iv) *Improved agriculture.* The monasteries cleared vast tracts of land.

(v) *Raised Gothic architecture*, e.g. Notre Dame (begun 1163).

(2) ITS LIMITATIONS

There came a time, however, when the Church acted as a brake on progress. Authority became the enemy of investigation. The Bible, the Church Fathers, and Aristotle (known only by bad Latin translations) furnished the solution of all problems. Scholasticism (i.e. philosophy applied to theology) accepted the dogma of the Church, and then, by the logic of Aristotle, tried to reconcile them with the conclusions of human reason. Since the Schoolmen employed only deductive reasoning, without ever examining the facts, they added nothing to human knowledge.

Literature, except for the medieval epics (e.g. the Niebelungen Lied and Gudrun), consisted of theology, and annals like Beda's *Ecclesiastical History*, and Einhard's *Life of Charles the Great.*

Science was alchemy and astrology. Sanitation was unknown, and in the Black Death one-quarter of the human race is said to have perished.

(3) THE FIRST HERETICS

The Medieval Church reached its height with Innocent III (1198–1216). From this time heretics appear. Not only in religion but in science and art men are beginning to struggle against the bonds of authority.

(i) **Abelard** (1079–1142), in *Sic et Non*, pointed out the conflicting opinions of the Church Fathers on 158 points of theology. His object was not to dis-

credit the Fathers, but to provide material for study; but he was condemned for heresy (1122) and forced to recant. His pupil, Arnold of Brescia, was hanged (1155).

(ii) **The Waldenses,** the followers of Peter Waldo of Lyons (from *c.* 1170), who rejected six of the seven sacraments, military service, and property, although continually persecuted (Milton's sonnet, 1655), have survived in Italy.

(iii) **The Crusades against the Albigenses** (1209–1229), a Manichæan sect. The work of the sword was completed by the Inquisition (founded 1229).

(iv) **John Wycliffe** (1320–1384) proposed that the State should confiscate the property of the clergy and attacked transubstantiation. His followers, the Lollards, although persecuted by the Lancastrian kings in alliance with the clergy, continued until the Reformation.

(v) **John Huss** of Bohemia (1373–1415) was treacherously burnt by the Council of Constance. After the failure of five crusades against the Hussites, they were granted the right to communion in both kinds (1436). *For the first time a sect within the Church was formed.*

(vi) **Roger Bacon** (*c.* 1214–*c.* 1294) wrote: "If I had my way I should burn all the books of Aristotle, for the study of them can only lead to a loss of time, produce error, and increase ignorance." By his insistence on the need for experiment he is the father of modern science.

(vii) **Giotto** (? 1266–1336) replaced the monastic symbolism by a return to nature.

(4) THE DECLINE OF THE PAPACY

(*a*) TEMPORAL POWER

In the thirteenth century the Papacy, by its victory over the Empire, reached the height of its temporal power. Even before this time Innocent III (1198–1216) had claimed that "To the Bishop of Rome all lands and all who dwell in them are subject." Boniface VIII, in the Bull of 1302, claimed " Submission to the Roman Pontiff is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature."

The defeat of the Hohenstaufens, however, did not leave the Papacy supreme. It was faced with a stronger force than the feudal anarchy of the Empire — the new, growing force of nationality.

(i) **England.** — When the clergy, on account of the Bull Clericis Laicos, refused to pay taxes to the secular power, Edward I forced them to make a grant (1297). Later, Parliament decreed that the King should not answer the Pope on any question of temporal rights (1301).

ii) **France.** — Philip the Fair, threatened by Boniface with excommunication, was supported by his Estates-General, and defied the Pope (1302). French soldiers stormed the Pope's palace at Anagni and made him prisoner (1303) — an insult which hastened his death (referred to by Dante in the *Divine Comedy* — " Christ had been again crucified among the robbers "). *This event marks the end of the supernational prestige of the Papacy.*

There followed:

(i) **The " Babylonian Captivity "** (1309–1377), when the popes resided at Avignon, and became mere vassals of the French kings, e.g. the Suppression of the Templars.

(ii) **The "Great Schism"** (1378–1417), when there were two popes, one at Rome, and the other at Avignon, under the protection of the French King. The spectacle of rival popes, each claiming infallibility and excommunicating the other, caused great injury to the Papacy.

(*b*) **MORAL DECLINE**

(i) **Papal Taxation** developed into a system at Avignon, and included Annates, Pluralities, Expectant Favors, Reserves. This angered (*a*) the secular rulers, who wanted the money themselves; (*b*) the clergy, who objected to Italians.

(ii) **Scandals,** e.g. wealth of the monasteries, evil living of friars and pardoners, commutation of penance for fines, abuses of the ecclesiastical courts.

(*c*) **THE CONCILIAR MOVEMENT**

This was a natural result of the Great Schism, the abuses of the Church, and the appearance of heresy. It was based on the idea that the Church, as represented by a General Council, is superior to the Head of the Church.

(i) **The Council of Pisa** (1409) deposed the two rival popes and elected a third, whom the two others refused to recognize. Hence there were now three popes.

(ii) **The Council of Constance** (1414) deposed the three popes, and put an end to the Great Schism by choosing a new Pope, whom all Christians recognized — Martin V (1417), who, however, (*a*) denied that a General Council is superior to the Pope, (*b*) refused reforms of the Church.

(iii) **The Council of Basle** (1431–1439) ended the movement for Conciliar Reform, which failed "because it was out of harmony with the conditions of the age."

But " the Papacy learned neither wisdom nor toleration from the trials through which it had passed. . . . The Protestant revolution more than avenged the defeat of the Councils of Constance and Basle."

III THE BEGINNINGS OF EXPANSION

(1) TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

The Hereford Map (1280) shows the earth as a circular disc, with the ocean surrounding it and Jerusalem in the centre (Ezek. v. 5). But pilgrims, travellers, and traders were beginning to make their way into Asia.

(i) **The Crusades** (begun 1096) gave an impetus to trade and the rise of the middle classes (*see* below, Intellectual Expansion).

(ii) **Travellers.** Friar John, sent to the Great Khan by Innocent IV, brought back news of Cathay (1245).

Marco Polo (1254–1324) crossed Asia, reached Pekin, and entered the service of Kublai Khan. Returning to Venice after an absence of twenty-four years, he dictated the story of his adventures.

The so-called *Travels of Sir John Mandeville* is a compilation from the works of earlier writers.

(iii) **Merchants** opened up trade routes:

(*a*) Across Central Asia to China.

(*b*) From Venice, Genoa, and Marseilles, to the Eastern Mediterranean. From Alexandria through Beirut and Smyrna to Constantinople. Branches from (1) Alexandria, across Suez, or up the Nile to the Malabar coast of India; (2) Beirut, through Damascus to Bagdad, and so to the Persian Gulf, past Ormuz, and again to India. Or by land from Bagdad, across Persia, and through Afghanistan or Baluchistan to India.

Note the *Rise of Banking* and the use of Bills of Exchange, which spread from Italy, e.g. to London (Lombard Street).

(2) INTELLECTUAL EXPANSION

(i) ARABIC CIVILIZATION

Contact with Arabic civilization enlarged the intellectual horizon of Europe. The Crusades played their part. But more important still was the influence of the Arabs of Spain and Sicily, who reached a high stage of civilization at a time when the inhabitants of the greater part of Europe were steeped in ignorance and superstition.

(*a*) *Knowledge.* — Universities (e.g. at Bagdad, Cairo, Cordova); study of the works of Aristotle.
(*b*) *Agriculture*, e.g. windmills, new plants (lemon, apricot, etc.).
(*c*) *Luxuries*, e.g. silk, sugar, carpets, glass.
(*d*) *Medicine*, e.g. camphor, senna, rhubarb; Averroes (1126–1198) wrote a complete system of medicine; six of the writers studied by Chaucer's "Doctor of Physic" are Arabian.
(*e*) *Chemistry*, e.g. sulphuric acid.
(*f*) *Mathematics*, e.g. decimal notation, algebra, sine, etc.
(*g*) *Astronomy*, e.g. showed that the earth is a globe.
(*h*) *Architecture*, e.g. Mosque of Cordova, the Alhambra at Granada.
(*i*) *Literature*, e.g. influence on the Troubadours and the Trouvères.

(ii) THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL LANGUAGES

(*a*) *Italy.* — The *Divine Comedy* of **Dante** (1265–1321), that "mystic, unfathomable song" which embodies the highest culture and knowledge of the age; *The Decameron* of Boccaccio (1313–1375).

(*b*) *France.* — The Troubadours of Provence. The Trouvères, in the Norman-French dialect of the North, produced the *Roman de la Rose.*

(*c*) *Germany.* — Epics of the Niebelungen Lied and Gudrun.

(*d*) *England.* — The *Canterbury Tales* of Chaucer (? 1340–1400); *The Vision of Piers Plowman* (*c.* 1362); Wycliffe's Bible (1382).

(iii) THE UNIVERSITIES

These sprang from the cathedral schools, and naturally started in Italy, " the wharf of Europe." Then any guild was called a university (i.e. the whole), but in time the word came to be restricted to an association of teachers. In the thirteenth century the University of Paris (starting from the lectures of Abelard) became a model for other universities. Among other universities were Oxford, Cambridge, Salerno, Bologna, Valencia, Prague, Vienna, Heidelberg, Cologne, and Leipzig.

Gradually the curriculum came to include the faculties of theology, law, medicine, and arts. The " seven liberal arts " were grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy.

IV THE COMING OF THE TURKS

The Ottoman Turks, crossing from Asia Minor, captured Gallipoli (1356), Adrianople (1361), and Philippopolis (1363). In 1389 they won a great victory over Lazarus the Serbian at Kossovo, and by 1400 the Balkan Peninsula, except the district round Constantinople, was in their hands. For a time they were checked by Timur, whose hordes overran Asia Minor. Under Mohammed I, however, in spite of the efforts of John Hunyady, the " White Knight of Wallachia," their power revived, and

the capital of the Empire was transferred from Asia to Adrianople. After the defeat of the Christians at Varna (1444) the Turks were freed from European invasions for two centuries.

In 1453 *Mohammed II captured Constantinople.* Thus perished the last remnant of the Byzantine Empire, and the Turks obtained command of the Black Sea and the Eastern Mediterranean.

There was no European unity to arrest the threatened peril. The Church was divided against itself, and Feudalism hindered the establishment of powerful states. Still more dangerous were the social and intellectual conditions of Europe.

(i) **England** was on the eve of the Wars of the Roses.
(ii) **Spain.** — Aragon, Castile, Navarre, and Portugal were fighting the Moors.
(iii) **France.** — Provence, Brittany, Anjou, and Burgundy were still independent.
(iv) **The Empire.** — Germany was in a state of anarchy, and Bohemia and Hungary had gained their independence.
(v) **Italy** was divided into rival principalities: Milan, Genoa, Venice, Lucca, Florence, Sienna (North); Papal States (Centre); Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (South).

RESULTS OF THE CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

(i) **Led to the Closing of the Land Routes to the East.**
(*a*) Collapse of Genoa, who had the monopoly of trade with Constantinople (to the Indies, via the Black Sea route).
(*b*) Temporary triumph of Venice, who had opened up the old route to India by way of

Alexandria and the Red Sea. Not until 1517 did the Turks control Egypt.

(*c*) Portuguese and Spanish navigators were stimulated in their search of an all-water route to the Indies.

(ii) **Gave an Impetus to the Renaissance,** since, on the fall of Constantinople, the Greek scholars fled, taking with them their precious manuscripts.

(iii) **Marks the Beginning of Modern History.** It is, of course, impossible to fix any date, since change is gradual. Some movements (e.g. the rise of cities and of commerce), started about 1300. Others (e.g. geographical discovery and the Reformation) extended beyond 1500. The year 1485 (the beginning of the Tudor despotism) is a convenient date for English history; 1492 (the capture of Granada and the voyage of Columbus) for Spanish history; 1494 (Charles VIII's invasion of Italy) for French history. The best date for the beginning of modern European history seems to be 1453, the capture of Constantinople.

After the capture of Constantinople *Mohammed II* (1451–1481) extended his rule over the Balkans, the islands of the Ægean, and even over the Tartars of the Crimea. *Selim I* (1512–1520) annexed Syria and Egypt.

Suliman the Magnificent (1520–1566) drove the Knights of St. John out of Rhodes and captured Belgrade (1522), and after the battle of Mohács (1526) the greater part of Hungary became an Ottoman province for a century and a half. In 1529, however, the Turks failed to take Vienna. The reign of Suliman the Magnificent, law-giver and patron of learning, is the greatest epoch in Turkish history.

The disunion of Christendom and the military organization of the Turks (first standing army in modern times;

Janissaries; use of artillery) had led to the establishment of the Ottoman Empire. But "when the Turks ceased to conquer they ceased to prosper," since they could neither govern nor assimilate with the conquered.

After the death of Suliman a decline set in. In 1571 the Turks took Cyprus, but the same year they were defeated in the sea-fight of *Lepanto* by a fleet manned by Spain, Venice, Malta, and Savoy.

(For other references to the Ottoman Empire, *see* the end of Chaps. XIX and XXXII.)

PART II

THE AGE OF THE RENAISSANCE
(1453–1648)

The Renaissance, or the rebirth, is applied to the recovery of Western Civilization, and includes all the changes in government, the economic structure of society, science, religion, literature, and art, which gradually transformed medieval into modern times. In other words, the men of the Renaissance "picked up the threads of the Greeks and continued their work."

The age of the Renaissance includes:

(i) **The Renaissance,** the ideas of which were circulated by the Printing Press.

(ii) **The Discovery of the New World,** the growth of the Spanish Empire, and the development of trade between Europe and India.

(iii) **The Rise of National States,** with national churches and national literatures.

(iv) **The Reformation Struggle,** which brought about a complete revolution in religious matters, and includes the wars of religion.

(v) **The Italian Wars,** which began the rivalry between France and the Hapsburgs until the Diplomatic Revolution of 1756.

(vi) **The Invasions of the Turks** of the East of Europe and along the Mediterranean.

V THE RENAISSANCE

Note two phases, separated, for convenience, by the year 1453:

(i) **Humanism** — the new enthusiasm for classical learning and literature, first Latin, and then Greek.

(ii) **The Creation of National Art and Literature,** i.e. anti-classical learning.

REASONS WHY THE RENAISSANCE BEGAN IN ITALY

(i) *The Feudal System was never deeply rooted there.*

(ii) *The survival of classical tradition.* Roman civilization was strongest in Italy and the barbarian onset weakest.

(iii) *Trade and manufactures brought wealth to the great self-governing city-states,* and wealth brought leisure for intellectual, political, and artistic life. (Compare city-states of Ancient Greece.)

(iv) *The geographical position,* in the centre of commerce, brought her into touch with Byzantine and Arabic civilization.

" Every nation played its part in the Renaissance, but Italy came first of all. Italy was the well-spring from which the other countries drew life. . . . And in each land, shaped by its own qualities, the Renaissance took a particular form."

(1) HUMANISM

Petrarch (1304–1374), the great lyric poet, with his enthusiasm for ancient studies, has been called the " first modern man." He was the first, too, of the collectors, who spent their lives unearthing classical manuscripts; e.g. Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459), who recovered works of Cicero, Tacitus, and Livy; Aurispa, who found texts of Sophocles and Æschylus.

The Age of Collection passed into an Age of Criticism, e.g. the corrupt translation of Aristotle from the Arabic gave way before the original text.

THE WORK OF THE HUMANISTS

(i) *Influenced human thought by rediscovering the Greek spirit of inquiry.* " For the first time," says Taine, " men opened their eyes and saw."

(ii) *Increased vocabulary and the possibilities of language.*

(iii) *In education, led to a classical curriculum.* Vittorino da Feltre (1378–1446), " the first modern schoolmaster," established a school at Mantua.

(2) NATIONAL ART AND LITERATURE

(*a*) IN ITALY

While other nations were developing into strong states, Italy — about to enter on a long period of political enslavement — took the lead in learning and art. It was in the cities of Italy that man came more closely into contact with the influences which make up a full life. The Renaissance was the " reassertion of Nature, and of her rights, against asceticism."

The Renaissance in Italy can best be illustrated by a study of **Florence,** which produced a host of great men, e.g. *Literature:* Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio; *Art:* Donatello, Fra Angelico, Fra Filippo Lippi (*see* Browning's poem), Filippino Lippi, Leonardo, Michael Angelo, Botticelli, Cellini. Two great patrons of art and literature at Florence were Cosmo de Medici (1389–1464) and his grandson, Lorenzo the Magnificent (1448–1492).

(1) Art.

By the development of technique and naturalism — e.g. Donatello (1386–1466), Masaccio (1402–1429), Fra Angelico (1387–1455), Filippino Lippi (1457–1504), Botti-

celli (1447–1510) — the way was prepared for the four supreme masters:

(i) **Michael Angelo** (1475–1564), who at the age of fourteen attracted the attention of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and was summoned by Julius II to Rome (1506). Frescoes in the Sistine Chapel; statues of David and Moses; the Medici Tombs; Cupola of St. Peter's.

(ii) **Leonardo da Vinci** (1452–1519), who is "the most perfect reproduction in modern times of the early Greek sophos, the men of universal interests and capacity." He was mathematician, engineer, architect, musician, poet, sculptor, painter, anatomist, botanist, and physicist. Fresco of "The Last Supper"; the Monna Lisa. But few pictures are known for certain to be his works.

(iii) **Raphael** (1483–1520), "The Divine," in whom Renaissance painting reached its zenith. He combined the older religious inspiration with technical skill. The Sistine Madonna; The Transfiguration.

(iv) **Titian** (? 1477–1576), the greatest master of color, painted "The Assumption of the Virgin."

Among others of the Venetian School were Bellini (1428–1516), Tintoretto (1518–1594), and Paul Veronese (1528–1588).

Among the sculptors of the Italian Renaissance were Ghiberti (1378–1455), whose bronze doors of the baptistery at Florence were "worthy of being placed at the entrance to Paradise"; Brunelleschi (1377–1446); and Michael Angelo.

Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571), master of all modes of metal-working, served a series of patrons — Clement VII and Paul III at Rome, Francis I, and Cosmo de Medici. His "Perseus" at Florence is a typical triumph of the Renaissance.

(2) Literature.

Ariosto (1474–1533) wrote the epic of *Orlando Furioso*, and his rival Tasso (1544–1595) *Jerusalem Delivered*.

The Prince, of Machiavelli (1469–1527), is a manual of the theory and practice of despotism and of the doctrine of expediency, the hero of which is Cesare Borgia.

The Renaissance Popes were: (*a*) Nicholas V (d. 1455), who founded the Vatican Library; (*b*) Pius II (Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, d. 1464); (*c*) Julius II (1503–1513), who began the new St. Peter's, and employed Bramante, Michael Angelo, and Raphael; (*d*) Leo X (1513–1521), second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent.

(*b*) ACROSS THE ALPS

The Humanists of the Northern Renaissance laid stress not so much on classical culture as on theology. Hence they became reformers, and the Renaissance developed into the Reformation. They include:

Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536), whose publication of the Greek New Testament (1516) discredited the Latin Vulgate.

Thomas More (1478–1535), who in *Utopia* saw the old order passing, and the other Oxford Reformers — Colet, Grocyn, and Linacre.

Reuchlin (1455–1522), who studied Greek, Latin, and Hebrew.

Melanchthon (1497–1560), who drew up the Augsburg Confession.

(1) Art.

(i) *Germany.* — Dürer of Nuremberg (1471–1528) was court painter to Charles V. Hans Holbein the Younger (1497–1543), for the last seven years of his life was portrait painter to Henry VIII of England.

(ii) *Flanders.* — Rubens (1577–1640) painted "The Descent from the Cross" in Antwerp Cathedral.

Vandyck (1599–1641) painted Charles I of England.

Teniers the Younger (1610–?).

(iii) *Holland.* — The master of the Dutch School is **Rembrandt** (1606–1669), e.g. "The Night Watch."

(iv) *France.* — Claude Lorraine (1600–1682).

(v) *Spain.* — Velasquez (1599–1660), and Murillo (1617–1682), e.g. "John the Baptist with a Lamb."

(2) Literature.

(i) *France.* — **Rabelais** (1483–1553) wrote *Gargantua*, a gigantic satire on the old system of thought and education, and only the intervention of Francis I saved him from the stake.

Villon (1431–?) sounded the first note of national poetry.

Montaigne (1533–1592) in his essays reveals a wide spirit of toleration.

(ii) *Spain.* — **Cervantes** (1547–1616) in *Don Quixote* ridiculed the romances of chivalry.

(iii) *England.* — The age of Shakespeare.

(3) THE SCIENTIFIC RENAISSANCE

Roger Bacon (*c.* 1214–1294), two centuries in advance of his time, criticized the superstitious veneration of Aristotle, and advocated observation and experiment. Not until the Renaissance and the revival of the "Greek Spirit" did the ideas for which he was persecuted begin to grow. The changes of the Renaissance tended "to prepare men's minds to accept the more human and naturalistic view of the universe which had been current among the Greeks in place of the mystical aspect which it wore to

the medieval Schoolmen and ecclesiastics." In the Note-Book of **Leonardo da Vinci** (1452–1519) we see the anatomist and the engineer recording the results of his experiments.

Copernicus (1473–1543) revived the theory that the earth moves round the sun, and destroyed the medieval theory of the universe. As late as 1600 Bruno was burnt for proclaiming this view.

Kepler (1571–1630), by his "Three Laws" laid the foundation of mathematical astronomy. **Galileo** (1564–1642), who founded the science of dynamics (after experiments from the Leaning Tower of Pisa), finally established the Copernican system, though forced by the Inquisition to recant (but the "And yet it moves!" story is not historical).

Meanwhile, *Francis Bacon* (1561–1626), "not the founder but the apostle of the scientific method," had published the *Novum Organum* — the new inductive method (as against the deductive method of Aristotle), which insists on observation and experiment. This was the view of *Descartes* (1596–1650), who accepted as true only that which could stand the test of reason.

(4) THE INVENTION OF PRINTING

Printing and paper probably originated in China. At first engraved blocks were used. About 1450, however, **John Gutenberg** of Mainz, in partnership with Fust, first printed from movable type. By 1465 there were printers in Italy, and by the end of the fifteenth century over two hundred printing presses in Venice alone; e.g. Aldus Manutius (from 1490) sent out beautiful copies of the classics.

The invention of printing is the "greatest event in history." The printing press circulated the ideas of the Renaissance. It made books not only more numerous

but more accurate. It made them cheap, since it could produce thousands of books while the old copyist was producing one. It destroyed the monopoly of learning possessed by the clergy and the wealthy, and made knowledge no longer a class monopoly but the possession of the people. It is the greatest emancipating force in History.

The use of paper (in place of parchment), introduced into Europe by the Arabs, enabled books to be produced in quantities.

(5) THE ECONOMIC RENAISSANCE

The end of the Middle Ages witnessed the decay of Feudalism, both military and economic. Along with the collapse of the Manorial System went the emancipation of the serfs. Serfdom gradually disappeared with the growth of industry, and the medieval system of landholding began to give way to the capitalistic system.

The rise of towns and the development of trade led to the creation of the middle classes, the members of which formed an aristocracy of wealth as opposed to that of birth.

Meanwhile there had come about a gradual alteration from the industrial methods of the Middle Ages — the finished article was now produced, not by one man, but by a series of men, each a specialist.

(6) THE RESULTS OF THE RENAISSANCE

(i) **Ended the Church Monopoly of Knowledge.** — " In the Middle Ages," says Acton, " the Church, that is to say, first the cloister, then the universities founded under the protectorate of the Church, had the civilizing of society, and, apart from law, the monopoly of literature. That came to an end when the clergy lost the superiority of

knowledge, and had to share their influence with profane laymen. . . ."

(ii) **Led to the Reformation** — the break-up of the Medieval Church.

(iii) **Marks the Beginnings of Modern Science.**

VI GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERY

The voyages of discovery, which began with the Crusades and ended with Columbus and Da Gama, were aided by improvements in navigation: (*a*) the magnetic needle (probably invented by the Chinese, and used in the West at the beginning of the fourteenth century) and the astrolabe; (*b*) the rise of the sailing-ship, which made it no longer necessary to keep close to the shore.

(1) PORTUGAL

The Portuguese began to push southward along the coast of Africa. It is doubtful, however, as the Cambridge Modern History points out, whether Dom Henrique, called Henry the Navigator (1394–1460), "was ever further away from Portugal than Ceuta, or that he had formed any plans for the extension of ocean navigation beyond a point long previously reached by the Genoese."

1420 — Portuguese colonies at Madeira, and

1433 — At the Azores.

1445 — They reach Cape Verde.

1453 — Capture of Constantinople by the Turks threatens overland routes to India.

1486 — Bartholomew Diaz passes the Cape of Storms (Cape of Good Hope).

1498 — **Vasco da Gama reaches Calicut on the Malabar Coast of India.** (Celebrated by *The Lusiads*, of Camoens.)

Results:

(i) **Shifted commercial and political activity from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic.**

(ii) *Gave a mortal blow to Pisa, Genoa, and Venice.*

(iii) *Inaugurated a period of European aggression.* Europe is no longer the goal but the starting-point of migration.

1500 — Cabral takes possession of Brazil.

1519–1522 — Magellan's voyage round the world.

THE PORTUGUESE EMPIRE

The Portuguese Empire was established by Almeida de Abrantes (Viceroy, 1506–1509) and his successor, *Albuquerque*, who made Goa the capital of the Portuguese possessions in the East. These included Ormuz and Muscat, Madras, Ceylon, the Spice Islands (Moluccas), Java, Sumatra, Celebes, and Borneo. In addition they possessed Brazil, and trading posts on the African coast. Trade was begun with China (1517) and Japan (1542). The Arab trading Empire was replaced by that of Portugal, and Lisbon became the depot for Eastern commodities. Unlike the Spaniards, the Portuguese contented themselves with setting up mere trading posts. Moreover, they lacked the population and resources to monopolize Eastern trade for long.

Most of the Portuguese possessions were lost to the Dutch in the seventeenth century. Brazil became independent in 1822.

(2) SPAIN

Columbus of Genoa (1446?–1506), by a study of Ptolemy and Marco Polo, came to the conclusion that the East could be reached by a shorter route than by that which led round Africa. In 1492, after the capture of Granada, he was furnished with three ships — the *Santa Maria* (100 tons), the *Minta* (60 tons), and the *Nina*

(20 tons). Ptolemy, however, had made the circumference of the earth too short by a sixth, so that Columbus expected to find Japan about the position of the Sandwich Isles.

1492 — **First Voyage of Columbus,** who reached "San Salvador" (? Watling Island), one of the Bahamas.

1493–1506 — In three other voyages Columbus explored the Caribbean Sea (Cannibal, derived from Carib), the mouth of the Orinoco, and the eastern coast of Central America. He believed he had reached the mainland of Asia (hence the "Indies"), and died without knowing he had discovered a new continent.

Results:

(i) *Profoundly affected European thought.*

(ii) *Ended Portugal's monopoly of exploration, and led to the Spanish Empire.*

1494 — *Treaty of Tordesillas* (based on the Bull of Alexander VI, 1493), by which all countries west of an imaginary line, drawn 270 degrees west of the Azores, were to belong to Spain, and all east of that line to Portugal.

1507 — Proposal to call the New World "America," after Amerigo Vespucci (1451–1512).

1513 — Balboa, on the Isthmus of Panama, sees the Pacific (Keats' sonnet says "stout Cortez").

THE SPANISH EMPIRE

The Spanish Empire was built up by the exploits of the Conquistadores, who searched for Eldorado and the fountain of perpetual youth. Ponce de Leon discovered Florida (1512); Cortez defeated the Aztecs and conquered Mexico (1519–1521); Pizarro defeated the Incas and conquered Peru (1531–1532).

The Spanish Empire included (*a*) the West Indies (Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto Rico, Jamaica, etc.); (*b*) Florida, New Mexico, Central America, and all South America (except Brazil); (*c*) the Philippines.

War, cruelty, and forced labor in gold mines and on sugar plantations almost wiped out the native population in the West Indies. On the mainland, however, the "New Laws" of Charles V (1542) gave the natives protection. Note the work of the great missionary Las Casas (1474–1566).

Results:

(i) *The foundation of the Spanish Empire*, which lasted nearly three hundred years.

(ii) *The beginning of the Mercantile System* — the exploitation of colonies for the benefit of the Mother Country — a precedent followed later by Holland, France, and England.

(iii) *Compensation of the Catholic Church* for the influence lost in Europe by the Reformation.

(iv) Increased production of the precious metals which caused prices and wages to advance in Europe.

(v) New commodities, e.g. maize, potato, cocoa, quinine, and tobacco.

The Spanish Empire fell to pieces (1808–1825) owing to: (*a*) the Revolt of the Thirteen Colonies from Great Britain and the French Revolution; (*b*) the economic exploitation of the colonies by Spain; (*c*) the Peninsular War, which gave the colonists a chance to set up practically independent states. Simon Bolivar of Caracas freed not only Venezuela, but helped to liberate Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru. Finally, Mexico threw off the Spanish yoke (1813).

The General Result of the Era of Geographical Discovery was the " substitution of the Atlantic for the Mediterranean as the highway of trade, and the consequent transference of the centre of intellectual and commercial life from Italy to the countries bordering that ocean."

VII THE NEW MONARCHY

Three states were based on the new principle of nationality:

(i) **France** issued from the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453) with an awakened sentiment of patriotism and an absolute government. Louis XI (1461–1483), the " universal spider," crushed the power of the barons (e.g. Charles the Bold of Burgundy, 1477). His son, Charles VIII, married Anne of Brittany (1491), and the last independent fief fell to the French crown.

(ii) **Spain.** — The marriage of Isabella of Castile to Ferdinand of Aragon (1469), and the capture of Granada (1492), which ended Mohammedan rule, led to the foundation of a compact Spanish kingdom.

(iii) **England.** — The Wars of the Roses (1455–1485) ended in the establishment of the Tudor despotism by Henry VII.

Note: (i) *The despotism was popular*, based on the consent of the middle and lower classes, especially the traders, who desired above all things law and order.

(ii) *Local government passed from baronial jurisdiction to the Crown officers*, who preserved peace, collected taxes, and tried cases.

(iii) *The Royal Councils contained a "new nobility,"* dependent on the king.

(iv) *The decay of national assemblies*, e.g. States-General (France), Cortes (Spain and Portugal), Diet (Poland), the Tables (Hungary). Gradually they became — save, perhaps, in England — almost negligible.

(v) *The dynastic interest*, marked by royal marriages, e.g. the Emperor Maximilian I to Mary of Burgundy (1477); Henry VIII of England to Catherine of Aragon (1509).

But neither in Germany nor in Italy — divided into petty principalities — did the national or the imperial interest prevail. They remained until the nineteenth century geographical expressions.

"The Prince" (1513), Machiavelli's guide for despots, gives the best idea of the political spirit which prevailed at the beginning of the sixteenth century. He illustrates his points by reference to contemporary events and rulers, and his hero is Cesare Borgia.

The great work on Renaissance sovereignty is **"The Leviathan"** of Thomas Hobbes (1651). Men, for the sake of preservation, surrender their liberty to the king. But sovereignty, once granted, cannot be forfeited, "and though of so unlimited a power men may fancy many evil consequences, yet the consequences of the want of it which is perpetuell warre of every man against his neighbour is worse."

VIII THE ITALIAN WARS

(1494–1559)

None of the petty states of Italy was strong enough to subject the others and to organize in Italy a strong

monarchy. Hence, while the Italians were giving to Europe lessons in art, literature, and politics, the peninsula lay at the mercy of an invader, and the rulers of France and Spain, having consolidated their power at home, undertook to extend it at the expense of Italy. Already, since 1282, the King of Aragon had owned Sicily. In 1494 Charles VIII of France, manufacturing a claim to Naples, invaded Italy. Thus began the long series of wars between France and Spain for the possession of Italy, which lasted until the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559).

In two years Charles VIII was driven from Italy by the League of Venice. His policy was followed by Louis XII, who was finally expelled by the Holy League (1513), but this only meant that the Italians fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who united Naples with Sicily (1504–1707).

In 1515 *Francis I* of France (1515–1547) won Marignano. In 1519, however, the election of his rival, Charles I of Spain, as the *Emperor Charles V*, threatened France with danger.

Altogether there took place four wars between Francis and Charles. In 1525 Francis was captured at *Pavia* (where he did *not* write "all is lost save honor") and forced to agree to the Treaty of Madrid (1526). Afterwards he repudiated the treaty, and concluded treaties with the Turks (1534) and with the Lutheran Princes (1535) against Charles. In 1547 the death of Francis brought the long personal rivalry to an end.

In 1552 Henry II of France, in alliance with the Lutheran Princes, seized Toul, Verdun, and Metz. These, by the **Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis** (1559), with Philip II of Spain, France retained.

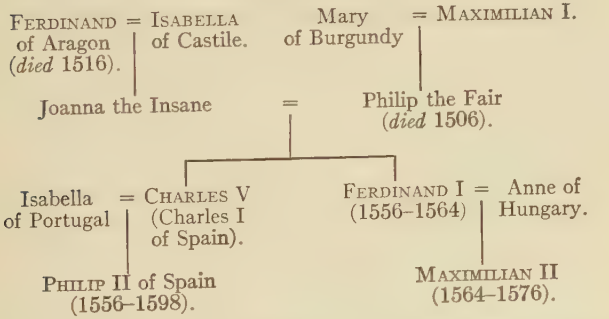
A series of royal marriages had brought a great part of Europe under the control of the

EMPEROR CHARLES V (1519–1556),
who inherited from his —

(*a*) Grandmother, Isabella — Castile.
(*b*) Grandfather, Ferdinand — Aragon, Sardinia, Naples, Sicily.
(*c*) Grandmother, Mary of Burgundy — the Netherlands and Franche Comté.
(*d*) Grandfather, the Emperor Maximilian — the Austrian lands of the Hapsburgs (Western Austria on the Upper Rhine, Austria, Carinthia, Carniola, Tyrol).

Finally, supported by the great business house of the Fuggers, Charles was elected Emperor.

THE SPANISH HAPSBURGS AND THE AUSTRIAN HAPSBURGS



Self-possessed and calculating, Charles was a remarkable contrast to his life-long rival, Francis I. He had, however, great difficulties:

(i) His dominions were scattered, and exposed to the attacks of France — central, national, and consolidated.
(ii) In the East he had to face Suliman the Magnificent.
(iii) In Germany he was hampered by (*a*) the jealousy of the smaller princes, (*b*) the problem of the Reformation.

In spite of his struggle with Francis and the divisions produced in Germany by the Reformation, Charles defended Europe against the Turks, while Francis invited Suliman into Europe. But, in the end, he failed:

(i) Lost the three bishoprics (Metz, Toul, and Verdun) to France.

(ii) Was forced to compromise with Lutheranism (Peace of Augsburg, 1555).

(iii) Failed to establish a centralized monarchy in Germany, owing to: (*a*) the Electors, "bent on an aristocratic federation"; (*b*) the Princes, determined to maintain their feudal heritage, e.g. War of the Knights (1522–1523); (*c*) the towns and peasants, e.g. the Peasants' War (1524–1525); (*d*) the Lutherans, e.g. the Schmalkaldic War (1546–1547).

In 1556 Charles abdicated and retired to a monastery (as a private individual, *not* as a monk).

RESULTS OF THE ITALIAN WARS

(i) *Proved to Europe the weakness of Italy*, which was dominated by foreign nations (e.g. Spain and Austria) until the latter half of the nineteenth century.

(ii) *Introduced the Franco-Hapsburg rivalry.*

(iii) *Checked the ambitions of Venice* on the mainland, and, with the Turks, brought her long ascendancy to an end.

(iv) *Helped to spread the Renaissance across the Alps.*

IX GENERAL CAUSES OF THE REFORMATION

Like a hurricane, new ideas — religious, social, and philosophical — were sweeping over Europe. But the

outbreak, though long prepared, came suddenly upon an astonished world. The causes — as in the study of any period of history — are to be sought centuries before.

(1) THE GROWTH OF NATIONALITIES,

which caused growing tension between the Holy See and the rulers. "The Medieval Church," says Maitland, "is essentially an international *state*, and the character of the Protestant secession from it was largely determined by this fact." Kings were irritated by:

(*a*) *The papal claim to excommunicate kings*, e.g. Leo X excommunicated Louis XII (1511).

(*b*) *The existence in every country of Legates and Nuncios*, who maintained the claims of the Church.

(*c*) *Church Patronage*, since the sale of benefices, abbeys, hospitals, etc., had become simple jobbery. These evils were aggravated by Pluralism.

(*d*) *Benefit of Clergy*, i.e. the exemption enjoyed by them from the authority of secular tribunals.

(*e*) *Exemption from taxation of Ecclesiastical Property*, though one-third of the wealth of Europe was in the hands of the Church.

(2) INCREASING SECULARIZATION OF THE CHURCH

(*a*) **The Lives of the Popes,** in theory the representatives of God on earth, but in reality secular princes. The salvation of souls was of small account in comparison with wars and intrigues, e.g. John XXII against the Visconti; Julius II against Venice.

Disgust with the vices of the Papacy, e.g. conduct of Alexander VI and his son, Cesare Borgia. "Let us enjoy the Papacy," said Leo X, "since God has given it to us." The Venetian Ambassador described Rome as the sewer of the world (1499), and

Machiavelli thought that through its example all religion had perished in Italy.

(*b*) **The Abuses of the Ecclesiastical Courts.** "The rule of the Church was nothing for nothing," and the Curia sold justice to the highest bidder.

(*c*) **The Character of the Clergy,** who were often "unholy men in holy orders." The lower clergy were farmers, or criminals and vagabonds (since Spiritual Courts could pronounce no judgments of blood), and the higher clergy were courtiers.

(3) THE RENAISSANCE

loosened the shackles which for centuries had bound the human intellect, and broke down the monopoly of learning of the clergy. Many devout Christians began to question details in theology and to expose ignorance and superstition.

Lorenzo Valla proved that the Donation of Constantine was a fraud.

Erasmus (1466–1536) published the New Testament in the Greek (1516), and thus discredited the Latin Vulgate. In the *Praise of Folly* he attacked the evils of the Church. He aimed at a Renaissance of Christianity, considering that a revolt from the Pope would do more harm than good.

(4) ECONOMIC CAUSES

It is maintained by some that "as a whole the Reformation was eminently an economic phenomenon."

(*a*) As the cost of government increased, the burden of taxation became more than the laity could endure, and hence kings turned to the clergy as the only source of supply, e.g. Suppression of the Templars by Philip of France (1307), secularization of Church property by the Princes of Germany and by the Tudors in England.

(*b*) The relation between commerce and scepticism. "As the tradesman replaced the enthusiast, a dogma was evolved by which mental anguish, which cost nothing (Justification by Faith), was substituted for the offering which was effective in proportion to its money value."

(5) THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF GERMANY

At the time of the Protestant Revolt the Empire consisted of two or three hundred states, differing greatly in size and character — under Duke, Count, Archbishop, Bishop, Abbot, Free City (e.g. Nuremberg, Augsburg, Cologne, Frankfort), Knight (with a castle and a village). The real power lay in the hands of the Seven Electors (the rulers of the Palatinate, Brandenburg, Saxony, Bohemia, and the Archbishops of Mayence, Trèves and Cologne). *Hence there was no central power to maintain order*, and —

(*a*) Germany (the "milch-cow of the Papacy") was exposed to the rapacity of Rome.

(*b*) The Reformation could take place without the consent of Charles V. (Compare Spain, France, and England, where the Central Power was strong.)

X THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY

(1) MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546)

Luther was educated at Erfurt University. He entered a monastery and studied St. Augustine (justification by faith, not through "good works"), and became professor at Wittenberg University (1508), established by Frederick the Wise of Saxony. He visited Rome (1511) and found that the Italians "make sport of the true religion; and they rail at us Christians because we believe

everything in the Scriptures." In 1517 he attacked the sale of Indulgences by Tetzel, and posted his ninety-five theses on the door of the church at Wittenberg. He burnt the Papal Bull of Leo X (1520), wrote *Address to the German Nobility* and the *Babylonian Captivity of the Church* (1520), and attacked the Papal Supremacy and the sacramental system. His refusal to recant before the **Diet of Worms** (1521) set Germany in flames. "Luther at Worms is the most pregnant and momentous fact in our history," says Acton.

Declared a heretic and an outlaw, Luther was hidden by the Elector of Saxony in the castle of Wartburg, where he began his translation into German of the New Testament.

(2) THE SPREAD OF PROTESTANTISM

Soon Germany was divided into two hostile camps: (*a*) the Catholic Party (1524); (*b*) the League of Torgau (1526), led by John of Saxony and Philip of Hesse.

At the *Second Diet of Spires* (1529) the Lutheran princes protested against the attempt of Charles V to enforce conformity, and became known as "Protestants." The Augsburg Confession (1530), drawn up by Melanchthon, summarized the Lutheran faith.

The efforts of Charles V to stamp out the Lutheran heresy were hindered by a revolt in Spain, by the wars with Francis I, by the defence of Europe against the Turks, and hence Protestantism was enabled to take root. It was not until 1546—the year of Luther's death—that Charles was free to declare open war on Protestantism. He was opposed by the Schmalkaldic League (formed 1530), and civil war continued until the **Peace of Augsburg** (1555) on the basis of Cujus regio, ejus religio, i.e. freedom of conscience for rulers only, who decided whether their subjects should be Catholics or Lutherans.

Two weaknesses were: (*a*) Followers of Calvin or of Zwingli, hated alike by Catholics and Lutherans, were not recognized; (*b*) the Ecclesiastical Reservation (ecclesiastical princes converted to Protestantism to surrender their property) could not be enforced, and was a source of dispute until the Thirty Years' War.

(3) CAUSES OF THE SUCCESS OF THE GERMAN PROTESTANTS

(i) **The Peculiar Character of the Empire,** which enabled the movement to take place without the consent of Charles V (*see* Chap. IX, (5)).

(ii) **Appeal of the Reformation to the Rulers.**
- (*a*) Princes and town councils, adopting the ideas of the Reformation, seized Church property.
- (*b*) Ecclesiastical princes transformed themselves into secular princes, e.g. the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order.
- (*c*) Rulers, by gaining control of religious affairs, increased their power.

(iii) **External Difficulties of Charles.**
- (*a*) Wars against Francis — first and second (1521–1529), third (1536–1538), fourth (1542–1544).
- (*b*) The advance of the Turks — Suliman overthrew Hungarians at Mohács (1526), but was checked before the walls of Vienna (1529). Turks again invaded Hungary (1543 and 1544). Expeditions of Charles against Tunis (1535) and Algiers (1541).

XI SPREAD OF THE REFORMATION

(1) SWITZERLAND

(i) **Zwingli** (1484–1531). — Zwingli was a priest in the Monastery of Einsiedeln, where "I began to

preach the Gospel of Christ in the year 1516, before any one in my locality had so much as heard the name of Luther." He was called to Zurich (1518), which town withdrew from the Roman Catholic Church, and met his death at Kappel in the war between the Catholic Forest Cantons and Zurich.

The importance of Zwingli is his conception of the Lord's Supper; he not only denied transubstantiation, but also the "real presence," and conceived the bread and wine as mere symbols.

(ii) **Calvin** (1509–1564). — To avoid Francis I's persecution of the Protestants, Calvin fled to Basel. At Geneva (1536–1538 and 1541–1564) he became the "Pope and Emperor of Protestantism." He burnt Servetus for refusing to agree to the words "the infinite son of the father," as against "the son of the infinite father."

The Institutes (1536) was the first attempt at a logical definition and vindication of Protestantism. Calvin's system is based on the infallibility of the Bible. The fundamental doctrine is the Predestination of certain elect souls to salvation, and of others to be damned. Each parish is an independent Church, governed by a council of Presbyters or Elders, so that laymen direct the Church. At Geneva he initiated a strict censorship of morals, e.g. forbidding theatres, music, dancing.

Calvinism spread to Scotland (Presbyterians), France (Huguenots), Northern Netherlands, England (Puritans), and across the Atlantic to New England.

(2) THE NORTHERN KINGDOMS

Lutheranism spread rapidly, and in each case the action was initiated by the sovereign.

(i) *Sweden* — by Council of Westeräs (1527).
(ii) *Denmark* — by Diet of Copenhagen (1546).
(iii) *Norway* — by Christian III (1536–1559).

(3) FRANCE

Although persecuted by Francis I (1515–1547) and Henry II (1547–1559), Calvinism spread. The massacres, civil wars, and truces which followed are part of the History of France, and were only ended by the Edict of Nantes (1598), by which the Huguenots gained toleration (*see* Chap. XVI).

(4) THE NETHERLANDS

Here the Calvinists suffered terrible persecutions in the time of Charles V and Philip II. The great revolt against Spain ended with the triumph of Calvinism in the Seven United Provinces (*see* Chap. XV).

(5) OTHER COUNTRIES

Where the Reformation, sooner or later, failed:

(i) *Spain and Italy* — heretics destroyed by the Inquisition.
(ii) *Bohemia, Poland, Austria and Hungary* — after the Thirty Years' War.

XII RESULTS OF THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION

(1) ENDED THE DOMINANCE OF THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH

In the Middle Ages all Europe outside Russia and the Balkans was subject to the Papacy. Norway, Sweden,

Denmark, Holland, England, Scotland, and the greater part of Germany and Switzerland became independent of Rome.

(2) BROUGHT ABOUT THE COUNTER REFORMATION

The surest way of weakening the Protestants was to remove the abuses which had driven them from the Church. The Protestant Revolution, therefore, caused the Church of Rome to set its house in order. Hence it has been said that the grandest fruit of the Reformation is the Counter Reformation.

(3) CAUSED A MORAL AND SPIRITUAL PURIFICATION

There was, " after the outbreak of the Reformation, a new and purer spiritual life, a more self-denying zeal in Catholic communities, as well as Puritan, which has never died out since . . . for Xavier and Borromeo, Fox and Bunyan, though divided in name, belonged essentially to one family, the children of St. Bernard and St. Francis" (F. S. Marvin).

(4) AFFECTED POLITICS

(i) **Where the Reformation Succeeded** it was favorable to liberty, e.g. United Provinces, England, United States. (The German Reformation, however, was the reverse of Democratic.)

(ii) **Where it Failed,** the reaction strengthened the absolute power of the Crown, e.g. France, Spain.

(iii) **Where it partly Failed and partly Succeeded,** the result was Civil War, e.g. Switzerland, Germany.

(5) AIDED THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL LITERATURE

The reformers turned from Latin to the vernacular, e.g. Luther's German Bible and German hymns, Calvin's French Bible, and in England Tyndale's New Testament.

(6) HELPED THE GROWTH OF TOLERATION

At first " Protestantism did not realize that toleration was its logical corollary." The reformers claimed liberty of thought for themselves, but refused to concede it to others.

Examples of Catholic Intolerance. — The burnings of the Inquisition; massacres (e.g. Massacre of St. Bartholomew); assassinations (e.g. William the Silent); the Dragonnades of Louis XIV.

Examples of Protestant Intolerance. — The burnings by the Lutherans of the followers of Zwingli; the tyranny of the Calvinists at Geneva (where in three years there were fifty-eight sentences of death and over eight thousand imprisonments for blasphemy), and of the Scotch Kirk in the seventeenth century; Puritans, emigrating from England to Massachusetts to escape persecution, became persecutors themselves; assassinations (e.g. Francis of Guise).

In the end, however, the struggle of the Protestants for the right of the individual to think for himself led to toleration.

Note, however, the part played by science in the emancipation of the mind. It is to science — rather than to letters, art, or theology — that the development of what we call the modern world is due.

XIII THE COUNTER REFORMATION

Protestant writers generally call the reformation of the Medieval Catholic Church the " Counter Reformation " or " Catholic Reaction," as if Protestantism were entirely responsible for it. On the other hand, it is maintained that the Catholic Reformation began some time before

the Protestant Revolution, which only stimulated a movement already under way. Men of all parties had long seen the necessity of reform, not only in morals but also in doctrine. Ximenes, Morton, and Wolsey wished to reform the monasteries, and the reform of the ecclesiastical system from within was advocated by the Oxford Reformers (More, Colet, Grocyn, Linacre) and Erasmus.

By the *Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis* (1559) Philip II and Henry II united in defence of Catholicism. A period of reaction against the Reformation set in, and many parts of Europe were recovered for the Catholics. Protestantism was crushed in Spain and Italy, the Southern Netherlands were recovered for the Catholic cause, while in Germany the success of the reaction led eventually to the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). In France the Huguenots only after a long struggle were permitted to carry on their worship.

The Papacy was well equipped for the struggle.

(1) THE COUNCIL OF TRENT (1545–1563),

interrupted by the Wars of Charles V, rejected any possibility of compromise with the Protestants.

(i) **Moral Reform of the Church,** e.g. sale of ecclesiastical offices forbidden; bishops to reside in their dioceses; establishment of seminaries for the education of priests.

(ii) **More Rigid Creed.** — (*a*) Divine authority of the Pope confirmed; (*b*) Vulgate fixed as the standard text, which only the Church could interpret; (*c*) Index of Prohibited Books.

(2) THE JESUITS

The Order of Jesus was founded by the Spanish Knight, **Ignatius Loyola** (1491–1556). To prepare himself for his

scheme he studied at Paris University, where he selected disciples. The Order received the sanction of Paul III (1540).

(i) **Discipline.** — Surrender of free inquiry, and absolute obedience. The General lived at Rome, and in addition to the three vows usually taken by the monks, there was a vow of obedience to the Pope.

(ii) **Education.** — The Jesuits were pioneers in education (pupils divided into classes; prizes; textbooks). Their schools were "fortresses of the faith." "Education," said the Jesuit Ribadeneira, "keeps the Catholic children in the religion of their fathers, and brings back to the Church a great number of the children of heretical families, and these children in turn convert their parents."

(iii) **Missionary Work.** — E.g. Poland, Hungary, Bohemia; also Brazil, Florida, Mexico and Peru, Canada, Mississippi Valley. **Francis Xavier** (1506–1552), one of the original seven disciples, went to Hindustan, the Moluccas, and Japan.

(3) THE INQUISITION

First established by Pope Gregory IX (1229). It was especially active in Spain (where Torquemada was Grand Inquisitor, 1483–1498), Italy, and the Netherlands, and was introduced into Rome by Cardinal Caraffa (afterwards Paul IV) in 1542. It is estimated that between 1500–1808, 30,000 victims were burnt alive.

(4) PHILIP II OF SPAIN (1556–1598)

The basis of his policy was the extinction of Protestantism. "I would rather," he said, "lose all my states and even a hundred lives, if I had them, than accept the seigniory of heretics."

(i) **At the Beginning of His Reign** the prospects of the Catholic cause seemed bright. (*a*) In Spain, after centuries of crusading warfare against the Moors, the Church was still a living force; (*b*) the financial (precious metals from America) and military resources were great; (*c*) the Council of Trent and the Jesuits had strengthened the Catholic Church; (*d*) Mary Tudor was Queen of England; (*e*) in France there was no toleration of the Huguenots.

(ii) **At the End of His Reign** he saw: (*a*) the defeat of the Armada. (*b*) Henry of Navarre King of France. (*c*) The United Provinces a new Calvinistic State. (*d*) The exhaustion of Spain.

XIV THE SPANISH EMPIRE

(1) THE RISE OF THE SPANISH EMPIRE

was marked by:

(i) *The Marriage of Ferdinand the Catholic of Aragon* (1479–1516) *to Isabella of Castile* (1474–1504), which prepared the way for the union of the two kingdoms.

(ii) *The Conquest of Granada* (1492).

(iii) *The Conquest of Naples* by Ferdinand (1501–1504), *and of Milan* by Charles (1526).

(iv) *The Investiture of Charles I* (the Emperor Charles V) *with the Netherlands and Franche Comté* (1506).

(v) *The Suppression of the Cortes* and the foundation of absolutism by Charles.

(vi) *The Discovery of America*, and conquest of Mexico, Peru, Chili, New Granada, etc.

The abdication of Charles V resulted in two branches of the Hapsburgs:

(*a*) **Austrian.** — Ferdinand I succeeded to the Empire and the Austrian lands.

(*b*) **Spanish.** — His brother, Philip II, received the Spanish Empire, consisting of :

(i) *In Europe.* — Spain, the Netherlands, Franche Comté, Milan, the Two Sicilies.

(ii) *Asia.* — The Philippines (1569) and, after the conquest of Portugal (1580), the Portuguese stations on the coast of India, in the Spice Islands, and Malacca.

(iii) *America.* — Mexico, Peru, etc.

(2) THE POLICY OF PHILIP II (1556–1598)

Philip inherited from Charles " the idea of a Christendom religiously unified with a Spanish Cæsar politically supreme." He aimed at (*a*) *the Extinction of Protestantism;* (*b*) *the domination of Spain* — not only the recovery of the Netherlands, but the conquest of England and the subjection of France.

The period during which these schemes seemed possible (1559–1588) saw the Counter Reformation at its height and the danger of the balance of power being destroyed.

Philip was aided by the political situation in :

(i) **France,** kept by the Wars of the Huguenots from any active part in European politics.

Note, however, that the Huguenots were strong enough to paralyse any attempt of the Guises to join France with Spain for the suppression of Protestantism (e.g. Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, 1559, and the Conference at Bayonne, 1565).

(ii) **The Empire,** where the reign of Maximilian II (1564–1576), owing to the efforts of the Jesuits and the divisions among the Protestants, marks the beginning of the Catholic Reaction.

Hence, if English religious dissensions were fomented by Spain, there would be no power to counteract Philip's plans: (*a*) First to secure absolute religious uniformity in his own dominions; (*b*) then to side cautiously with the Catholic elements in England and France (and probably also in the Empire).

His mistake was that he refrained, owing to fear of France, from dealing with England when she was weak — when the Catholics were in the majority, Elizabeth's title insecure, and Mary, Queen of Scots, an active pretender to the throne. Later, he was delayed by the Revolt in the Netherlands (from 1567).

Philip reached the height of his power after 1580. He recovered the Southern Netherlands (Treaty of Arras, 1579). He annexed Portugal (1580). After the assassination of William of Orange (1584) the Dutch were in a worse case than they had been for years. The Turks (whose fleet the Spaniards had destroyed at Lepanto, 1571) were at war with the Emperor. The Catholics of France turned to Philip for salvation (Treaty of Joinville with the League, 1584), and the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots (1587), gave him a better chance politically, if only England could be conquered.

The defeat of the Armada (1588) by the Sea-Dogs was the death of his hopes. Yet his efforts on behalf of the Counter Reformation were not entirely in vain. For if he did not succeed in restoring Catholicism throughout Christendom, he helped not only to check the spread of Protestantism but to re-establish in many places the Catholic religion.

(3) RESULTS OF THE DEFEAT OF THE ARMADA

(i) **Threw into relief the Importance of Sea-Power.**

(ii) **Marks a New Era in Colonization.** — Spain and Portugal had concerned themselves with the

tropics, working under royal, noble, and clerical influences. Now colonization was marked by (*a*) the middle classes, seeking to develop commerce in private hand; (*b*) the actual transference of European peoples with their own customs beyond the seas.

(iii) **Struck a great Blow at the Counter Reformation.**
- (*a*) In England.
- (*b*) In France — saved the Huguenots.
- (*c*) In Holland — the Seven United Provinces secured their independence.

(iv) **Made Spain, broken and bankrupt, a second-class power.**

(4) CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF SPAIN

(i) **Geographical.**
- (*a*) Disunion, caused by configuration.
- (*b*) Lack of wealth. Only in Catalonia was there a middle class and a trading population.
- (*c*) Survival of the Medieval Spirit, i.e. Medieval Catholicism and Feudalism, e.g. the extermination of the Moriscos of Granada.

(ii) **Destruction of Individualism.**
- (*a*) Government a bureaucracy — hence, initiative destroyed, justice corrupt, local freedom crushed.
- (*b*) Theocracy. The Inquisition punished not only heresy, but political offences. Intellectual independence was impossible.

(iii) **Financial and Commercial Policy.**
- (*a*) Imports discouraged; exportation forbidden, e.g. corn and cattle.
- (*b*) Trade monopolized by foreigners.
- (*c*) Taxation, especially in Castile and Naples.

(iv) **Demoralizing Influence of Spanish Empire,** owing to influx of wealth into Spain. Lands untilled; rush to the Spanish Main drained Spain of men.

(v) **False Imperial Policy** involved Spain in endless wars.

XV THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS

After 1384 the provinces of the Netherlands (e.g. Brabant, Flanders, Guelders, Holland, Zealand, Hainault, and the bishopric of Utrecht) were brought under the control of the Dukes of Burgundy. The marriage of his son Maximilian to Mary of Burgundy, heiress of Charles the Bold (1477), was a brilliant success for the Emperor Frederick III. Thus, the Netherlands — united and having a common States-General — descended to the Hapsburgs.

The Northern States were Teutonic and democratic, e.g. cities of Harlem, Leyden, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam. The Southern States were of mixed Teutonic and Celtic origin, and were aristocratic; e.g. Ghent, Bruges, Brussels, and Antwerp (richest town in North Europe), for hundreds of years centres of manufacture and trade.

(1) CAUSES OF THE REVOLT

(i) HATRED OF FOREIGN DESPOTISM

Charles V aimed at a more centralized government, and established (*a*) a Central Court of Justice; (*b*) three Councils — Privy Council (Justice), Council of Finance, and the Council of State — to carry on the administration; (*c*) Stadtholders, nominated by the Emperor, in the provinces.

His son, *Philip II*, attempted to exercise the same absolute power which he enjoyed in Spain. Ancient

privileges (e.g. the right of the Estates to grant taxes and troops) were withdrawn. Power was placed in the hands of foreigners, and a Spanish garrison was introduced. Resistance came from (*a*) the towns, with their privileges, (*b*) the nobles, who resented exclusion from power.

(ii) THE ATTEMPT TO STAMP OUT THE REFORMATION

Charles V issued edicts against the reformed doctrines, e.g. Edict of 1550, " to exterminate the root and ground of this pest," and introduced the Inquisition.

The religious element was strong — especially in the north provinces — but persecution was not the chief cause of discontent.

(iii) THE CHARACTER OF PHILIP II

Charles, in spite of some harsh measures, had retained the loyalty of his subjects. But Philip was a foreigner and a cruel, bigoted tyrant, who alienated all classes.

(2) OUTLINE OF THE STRUGGLE (1556–1648)

(i) A PERIOD OF PROVOCATION (1556–1567)

when Margaret of Parma was regent (1559–1567).

The substitution of a cabinet of three for the Council of State irritated the nobles. In 1564, however, Philip was forced to withdraw Margaret's adviser Granvella, and Egmont, Horn, and William of Nassau (Orange) resumed their seats in the Council of State.

A protest of the nobles against the order of Philip to carry out the decrees of the Council of Trent gained for them the name of " Beggars " (" What, Madam, is your Highness afraid of these beggars? "). In 1566 the nobles pledged themselves to resist the Inquisition. The same year an outbreak of image-breaking by Protestant fanatics (sacking of the Cathedral and thirty other churches in Antwerp in one night, and four hundred churches in a

few weeks in the provinces of Flanders alone) gave Philip his chance.

(ii) **INSURRECTION** (1567–1579)

Alva instituted the "Council of Blood," and in the reign of terror Egmont and Horn were executed. After six years Alva claimed to have put to death 18,000 victims. From this time the rising was led by:

William the Silent (1533–1584), Prince of Orange, who gained his nickname owing to his composure in a conversation with Henry II of France (1559), when the King let slip the compact with Alva to extirpate heresy. Born a Catholic, he died a Calvinist. The toleration he advocated was rejected by both parties. In 1581 he was chosen hereditary governor of the United Provinces, on which Philip offered 25,000 crowns and a patent of nobility to anyone "who should deliver this pest to us, dead or alive, or take his life." In answer William published his *Apology*. After several attempts he was assassinated (1584). "Better late than never," remarked Philip.

Year after year the desperate struggle against the Spanish armies continued. The "Sea-Beggars," at last forbidden by Elizabeth to refit in English ports, seized Brille and Flushing, and a general revolt in Holland and Zealand followed (1572). The Spaniards sacked Malines and Zutphen, and at last took Harlem (1572), but Leyden was heroically saved by the Dutch (1574). The "Spanish Fury" at Antwerp, Mastricht, and Ghent caused a union of all provinces (the Pacification of Ghent, 1576) to drive the Spanish soldiers from the country.

The establishment of a Calvinistic tyranny at Ghent, however, enabled Parma (1578–1592) to win over the Catholic South. By the *Treaty of Arras* (1579) the southern provinces bound themselves to maintain the

Catholic faith, and to submit to Philip, on condition of the restoration of their old political freedom. Hence, in the Southern Provinces the Counter Reformation triumphed. They remained under Spain until 1713.

(iii) THE NORTH STANDS ALONE (1579–1648)

By the **Union of Utrecht** (1579) the Seven United Provinces bound themselves to defend their rights and liberties against all foreign potentates, including the King of Spain. In 1581 they formally renounced their allegiance, and elected William hereditary governor.

In 1585 Parma captured Antwerp, and the Dutch were again on the verge of defeat. But the defeat of the Armada by the English (1588) was a great disaster for Spain, though it was not until 1609 that she consented to the Ten Years' Truce. After its expiration the war was renewed, until, in 1648, the Republic of the United Provinces obtained their independence from Spain and from the Empire at the *Peace of Westphalia*.

(3) THE RISE OF THE DUTCH REPUBLIC (1579–1648)

The Dutch rapidly became the chief trading people of the world. The central government was a States-General, composed of delegates of a federated body of United Provinces. The executive power was vested in successive princes of the House of Orange. After the judicial murder of *Oldenbarneveldt*, "Minister of All Affairs" (1585–1619), who played a part in the War of Independence second only to that of William the Silent, the Stadtholder, Maurice of Nassau, became sovereign in all but name.

At the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) the United Provinces reached the height of their prosperity, not only in commerce, but in art, science, and literature: *Grotius*

(1583–1645) issued his work on international law, *De Jure Belli et Pacis* (1625); *Rembrandt* (1606–1669) is the foremost representative of the Dutch School of painting; Jacob Cats (1577–1660) is the most popular Dutch poet; Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723) improved the microscope; the philosopher *Spinoza* (1632–1677) wrote his *Ethica;* while Holland — free in thought and speech beyond all other continental states — became the home of Descartes.

THE DUTCH COLONIAL EMPIRE

(i) **Causes:**

(*a*) *The Flemish Netherlands were ruined by Spain,* and after the sack of Antwerp its trade passed to Amsterdam and Rotterdam.

(*b*) The repudiation by Philip II of his debts ruined the capitalists of Augsburg, so that *Amsterdam became the chief financial centre.*

(*c*) Forced by their war with Spain to abandon their share of the carrying trade of Lisbon after Philip's seizure of Portugal (1580), *the Dutch merchants turned to the East Indies.*

(*d*) *Germany was in the chaos of the Thirty Years' War* (1618–1648).

(*e*) *Spanish strength was diverted to Germany and Italy.*

(*f*) *England and France were occupied with other affairs.*

(*g*) *The United Provinces were the home of toleration,* e.g. Jews driven from Spain and Portugal took refuge in Holland.

(ii) **The Invasion of the East.** The rise of the Dutch trading Empire is the story of the fall of that of Portugal. The Portuguese Empire in the East all but disappeared, and only Brazil and the Atlantic islands retained a semblance of their former strength.

The Dutch East India Company was established in 1602. In 1606 the destruction of the Spanish-Portuguese fleet at Malacca put the control of Eastern waters into Dutch hands. Their influence spread through Ceylon to Java and Sumatra, to the Spice Islands, to Macao in China, to New Guinea, and even to New Holland (Australia). In 1619 Batavia, in Java, became the capital of the Dutch East Indies. In 1623, the "Massacre of Amboyna" gave the Dutch control of the Spice Islands, and confined the English East India Company to the mainland of India.

Other Dutch Settlements were:

(*a*) North America — New Amsterdam (1626).
(*b*) South America — Dutch Guiana.
(*c*) Africa — Cape of Good Hope, captured from Portuguese (1652), settled by Dutch ("Boers"). (*See* Chap. XXI.)

XVI THE WARS OF THE HUGUENOTS

(1) CAUSES

"Calvinism," says Acton, "possessed the important faculty of self-government, whilst Lutheranism required to be sustained by the civil power." Hence, it was Calvinism which prevailed in France — especially in Dauphiny (near Geneva) and Lyons, whence it spread to Normandy and the West. The Huguenots, in spite of persecution, were estimated by Calvin to number at the end of the reign of Henry II (1547–1559) about 300,000. There was, however, never any real chance of the Reformation prevailing in France.

Cruel persecutions compelled the Huguenots to take up arms. At the same time they were joined by those nobles who were jealous of the power of the Guises. The Wars of the Huguenots, therefore, were not simply religious wars, but also political wars, in which the leaders of *both* parties — Catholics and Protestants — aimed at getting control of the government.

The struggle began by the seizure of power by the Guises in the first days of Francis II (1559–1560).

In 1562, Catherine de' Medici granted conditional toleration to the Huguenots. To counteract this policy attacks on Huguenot congregations took place all over France, and the *Massacre of Vassy* by Francis, Duke of Guise, brought matters to a head.

Four parties may be distinguished:

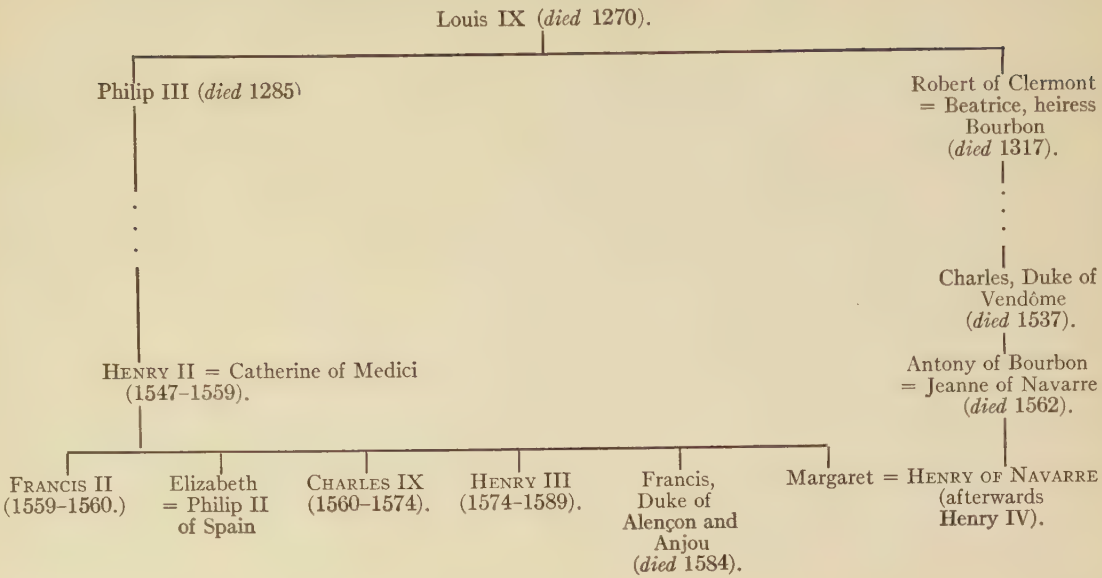
(*a*) *Catherine de' Medici*, the Queen Mother, whose policy was to uphold the House of Valois — her sons, Francis II (1559–1560), Charles IX (1560–1574), and Henry III (1574–1589).

(*b*) *The Guises*, leaders of the Catholic Party, who desired, if not the crown, at least the direction of affairs. At their head was Francis of Guise (until his assassination, 1563) and later his son, Henry of Guise.

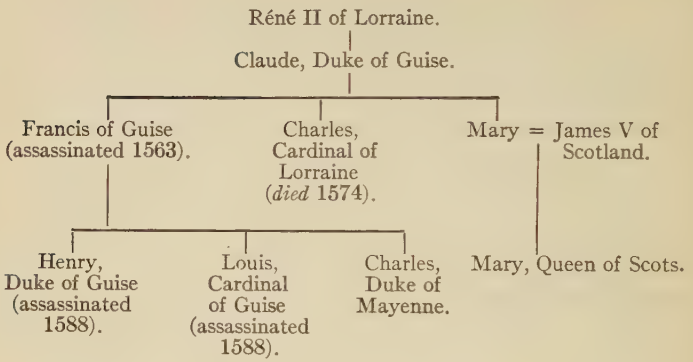
(*c*) *The Huguenots*, with Calvinistic doctrines and political aspirations. They were led by nobles jealous of the Guises, e.g. Condé, **Coligny,** Bourbon (King of Navarre).

(*d*) *The Politiques*, who aimed at toleration, and hated political Catholics and political Huguenots. Their leader was the Chancellor *L'Hôpital* ("Let us get rid of these devilish words, these names of party, of faction, of sedition — Lutheran, Huguenot, Papist — let us keep unadulterated the name of Christian").

HOUSE OF VALOIS AND HOUSE OF BOURBON


Louis IX (*died* 1270).
Philip III (*died* 1285)
Robert of Clermont = Beatrice, heiress Bourbon (*died* 1317).
Charles, Duke of Vendôme (*died* 1537).
Antony of Bourbon = Jeanne of Navarre (*died* 1562).
Henry II = Catherine of Medici (1547–1559).
Francis II (1559–1560.)
Elizabeth = Philip II of Spain
Charles IX (1560–1574).
Henry III (1574–1589).
Francis, Duke of Alençon and Anjou (*died* 1584).
Margaret = Henry of Navarre (afterwards Henry IV).

THE HOUSE OF GUISE


Réné II of Lorraine.
Claude, Duke of Guise.
Francis of Guise (assassinated 1563).
Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine (*died* 1574).
Mary = James V of Scotland.
Henry, Duke of Guise (assassinated 1588).
Louis, Cardinal of Guise (assassinated 1588).
Charles, Duke of Mayenne.
Mary, Queen of Scots.

(2) THE CIVIL WARS (1562–1598)

(i) THE FIRST THREE WARS (1562–1570) are really one war, interrupted by so-called peaces. After the devastating third war an attempt at compromise was made. The marriage of *Henry of Navarre* with Margaret of Valois was a step to a reconciliation between the Court and the Protestant Party (1572). The successes of the Sea-Beggars made Coligny anxious to take advantage of the difficulties of Philip II, and to unite Catholics and Protestants in a national war against Spain. The Catholic Party of the Guises, however, fearing that the war would mean the triumph of the Calvinist Party, frustrated the plan by —

(ii) THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW (1572), which caused the murder of Coligny and general massacre of the Protestants. Estimates of the slain vary — "Rather more than 5,000 for the whole of France," is the view of Acton. Another calculation is 2,000 in Paris and 10,000 outside. "Not a child has been spared.

Blessed be God ! " wrote the Spanish Envoy at Paris. It was his political enemies that Guise tried to destroy.

The actual massacre was *not* long and carefully prepared. There is no doubt, however, that the scheme had been forming in Catherine's mind at least as early as the conference with Alva at Bayonne (1565). Afterwards, to satisfy the king, she invented the story of a Protestant plot.

A result of the massacre was the formation of the party of the Politiques, who advocated toleration and the supremacy of the State over the Church.

There broke out :

(iii) THE FOURTH–SEVENTH CIVIL WARS (1572–1580)

These struggles were marked by the formation of the *League* (1576), which reached the height of its power in 1585 — an alliance of the Catholic aristocracy and the Parisian democracy, aided by Philip II, which aimed at the annihilation of the reformed party, and, as time went on, the elevation of the Guises to the throne. They were opposed by the Protestants and the Politiques.

The death of Francis, Duke of Alençon (Anjou), the last brother of the King, rendered the extinction of the House of Valois certain. It was the intention of the League on the death of Henry III (1574–1589) to exclude from the throne the Protestant Henry of Navarre, and to give the crown to the King's uncle, Charles, Cardinal of Bourbon. Meanwhile they induced the King to revoke the concessions granted to the Huguenots, and there followed :

(iv) THE WAR OF THE THREE HENRYS (1585–1589)

Henry III of Valois; Henry of Navarre; Henry of Guise.

After the success of the Catholics, Guise was received with acclamation as " King of Paris." Henry III, however, anticipating his overthrow by the Guises, caused

Guise and his brother, Louis the Cardinal, to be murdered. Afterwards, the King himself, forced by the Catholic Party to flee to the Huguenot camp to Henry of Navarre, was murdered by a fanatical monk. So ended the Valois dynasty. The field was now left open for Henry of Navarre (1589).

(v) THE TRIUMPH OF HENRY OF NAVARRE

After a long struggle against the League and its allies, the citizens of Paris, the Pope, and the King of Spain (Arques, 1589; Ivry, 1590), Henry solved his difficulty by becoming a Catholic (1593: "Paris vaut bien une messe"), and became Henry IV.

By the **Edict of Nantes** (1598) he granted toleration to the Huguenots, who gained the right:

(*a*) To worship in 200 towns and 3,000 castles (but not in Paris and other towns).
(*b*) To enjoy the same political rights as the Catholics, e.g. access to all public offices.
(*c*) To hold certain fortified towns, e.g. Rochelle, Nîmes, Montauban.

The religious policy was incomplete; the local political liberty was excessive. But the Protestants remembered the Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the Guises.

The Edict meant: (*a*) "An epoch in the progress of toleration, that is, in the history of liberty, which is the marrow of all modern History" (Acton). (*b*) "The triumph of the Crown over the Nation, and the State over the Church."

In the end, however, Calvinism in France was almost destroyed.

(*a*) Their political power was broken by Richelieu, and they remained only a tolerated sect (1629).

(*b*) Their religious freedom was gradually weakened and finally destroyed by the bigoted Louis XIV, who brought about the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685).

XVII THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR (1618–1648)

The last act in the drama which opened with the revolt of Luther and the election of Charles V.

(1) CAUSES

(i) FAILURE OF THE HAPSBURGS TO UNIFY GERMANY

In theory, the Head of the Holy Roman Empire was the successor of Augustus and Constantine. In practice, however, he ruled over vassals who were almost independent. The Diet, consisting of three Houses — the Seven Electors (really six, since the King of Bohemia was only present when a new Emperor was elected), the Princes, and the Free Imperial Cities — reflected almost entirely the views of the Princes. By the establishment of an Imperial Court (to decide disputes between rulers) and the division of Germany into Circles (in order to secure the execution of the sentences of the Court) some attempt had been made to secure law and order, but any strong prince could resist punishment.

(ii) RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES

Outside Germany the religious question was to a large extent settled. In France, Spain, and Italy Catholicism had triumphed; in England and Scotland Catholicism was defeated; in the Netherlands two religions remained side by side.

(*a*) **The Success of the Catholic Reaction.** — The Catholics, owing to the efforts of the Jesuits and the Capuchins, re-established themselves in Austria, Styria, Moravia, and Poland.

(*b*) **The Hostility of the Lutherans and the Calvinists.** — By the Peace of Augsburg the Calvinists had secured no privileges, and each sect wished to destroy the other.

(*c*) **The Interpretation of the Peace of Augsburg,** especially concerning the Secularized Lands and the Ecclesiastical Reservation.

(iii) CONTINUATION OF THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN FRANCE AND AUSTRIA

The failure of Charles V to crush the Reformation was largely due to his constant wars with France. The failure of Philip II to subdue France and England was followed by Henry IV's preparation for a counter-attack on the Austro-Spanish House. It is difficult to decide how far to regard the Thirty Years' War " as the opportunity cautiously prepared and still more cautiously allowed to mature by the far-sighted statesmanship of France."

(iv) THE IMMEDIATE CAUSES

(*a*) **Germany.** — Under the weak rule of Rudolf II (1576–1612) disputes over the Ecclesiastical Reservation led to the formation of: (1) the Protestant Union (containing both Lutherans and Calvinists), the nominal leader of which was Frederick IV, the Elector Palatine; (2) the Catholic League, led by Maximilian of Bavaria.

(*b*) **Bohemia** was divided into: (1) the Protestant Majority (Utraquist Congregations, following the system of Huss, who were permitted to take communion in both kinds); (2) the Catholic Majority, supported by the Hapsburgs.

When the deposition of Rudolf brought Matthias to the throne (1612–1619), difficulties were increased by the destruction of the Utraquist Church, the appointment of Catholic governors in seven out of ten districts, and the claim of the Town Council of Prague to decide the qualification of parish priests.

There followed the revolt of the Bohemian Protestants, heralded by "the throwing out of the window" (1618). Ferdinand of Styria (chosen King of Bohemia, 1617; elected Emperor 1619) was deposed, and the Calvinist, Frederick, Count Palatine (who had married Elizabeth, daughter of James I of England), elected King. This rendered war inevitable.

(2) THE WAR

The Thirty Years' War is generally divided into four periods, which are properly as many different wars.

It is necessary carefully to distinguish the two Protestant parties:

(*a*) **The Calvinists,** led by Frederick IV, the Elector Palatine, and Christian of Anhalt, who believed that only the destruction of the House of Austria would save Calvinism, and wished for a fresh secularization of ecclesiastical property. Hence, they were feared not only by the Catholics but by the Lutherans.

(*b*) **The Lutherans** wished for a peaceful settlement. In the first phases of the struggle the majority of the Lutheran Princes remained neutral—some even, like John George of Saxony, supporting the Imperialists. War was only declared on the German Lutherans by the Edict of Restitution (1629), and they made peace again in 1635.

(i) **The Bohemian War** (1618–1623) ended in the defeat of Frederick ("The Winter King") at the White

Hill by Tilly, and the extirpation of Protestantism in Bohemia. Notwithstanding the efforts of Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick, the subjection of the Palatinate by the Imperialists followed.

(ii) **The Danish Period** (1625–1629). — Christian IV of Denmark, alarmed for the Church lands he had appropriated (Bremen, Verden, and Lübeck), invaded Germany on behalf of the Protestants. But in addition to the troops of the Catholic League the Emperor Ferdinand II (1619–1637) was now aided by the army raised by Wallenstein. The Danes were defeated at Lutter (1626), and by the peace of Lübeck withdrew from the war (1629). By the Edict of Restitution Ferdinand ordered the Protestants throughout Germany to give back all the Church possessions they had seized since the Peace of Augsburg.

(iii) **The Swedish Period** (1630–1635). — Gustavus Adolphus (1611–1632) invaded Germany (*a*) to help the Protestants, (*b*) to secure the expansion of Sweden round the Baltic. The Edict of Restitution had alarmed the Protestants, and Gustavus was joined by the rulers of Pomerania and Brandenburg, and after the sack of Magdeburg (1631) by the Lutheran John George of Saxony. The victory of **Lützen** (1632), at which Gustavus was killed, preserved Protestantism in Germany.

The policy of Sweden was now directed by the Chancellor Oxenstierna, who signed the League of Heilbronn with the four Circles of Swabia, Franconia, and the Upper and Lower Rhine (1633). After the victory of the Imperialists over Bernard of Weimar at Nördlingen, however, John George of Saxony came to terms with Ferdinand by the Treaty of Prague (1635).

(iv) **The French Period** (1635–1648). — Richelieu, who had encouraged Sweden, bent on securing the French frontiers and on weakening the Hapsburgs, now believed that Germany was weak enough for France to intervene successfully. Henceforth the war was a struggle between the Bourbons, supported by Sweden, Savoy, and the Calvinistic German Princes, and the Austrian and Spanish Hapsburgs, aided by Bavaria and some of the Lutheran Princes.

Richelieu's policy was successful. Portugal, taking her opportunity, revolted from Spain (1640). The French occupied Alsace, and the Swedish armies continued to ravage Germany. Hence, the new Emperor, Ferdinand III, was forced to consent to peace.

(3) THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA (1648)

The basis of international law until the French Revolution.

(i) TERMS

(*a*) Territorial.

(1) *France.* — Retained Verdun, Toul, and Metz, and gained S. Alsace (except Strasburg).

(2) *Sweden.* — Gained Upper Pomerania, Bremen, Verden, Rugen, and Wismar. She became a member of the Empire.

(3) *Brandenburg.* — Received rest of Pomerania (East), and the bishoprics of Minden, Magdeburg, and Halberstädt.

(4) *Bavaria.* — Gained the Upper Palatinate (the Lower Palatinate was restored to the son of the late Elector Frederick).

(5) *United Provinces and Switzerland.* — Independence recognized.

(*b*) **Ecclesiastical.**

(1) The Peace of Augsburg was extended to include the Calvinists.

(2) Each ruler was still to determine the religion of his state. Calvinism, Lutheranism, and Catholicism were allowed to exist in any state so long as the head of that state raised no objection.

(3) January 1, 1624, was adopted as the date after which the ecclesiastical reservation was binding.

(4) Evangelical States gained by the Catholics during the war (e.g. Lower Palatinate, Baden, Würtemberg) were allowed to resume the religion which had been theirs in 1618. But the subjugated Protestants in Austria and Bohemia obtained no rights.

(ii) RESULTS

(1) **Brought about the supremacy of Sweden in the North.**

(2) **France became the dominant power of Europe.**

(3) **The House of Hapsburg had failed to establish its ascendancy over the whole of Germany,** so that unification was long postponed.

(4) **Caused the impoverishment of Germany,** owing to one of the "most appalling demonstrations of the consequences of war to be found in history."

(5) **Marks the end of the Counter Reformation.** Germany was left divided among the Catholics and the Protestants. The Protestants, however, lost ground, e.g. half the Palatinate, the Austrian dominions (except Silesia). Hence, in Bohemia, "the men who were thrown out of the window triumphed in the end."

(6) **"The Medieval order of the European world was over."**

PART III

THE AGE OF THE BENEVOLENT DESPOT (1648–1789)

THE Age of the Benevolent Despot is a time of transition from the storm of the Reformation to the storm of the French Revolution.

ABSOLUTISM WAS POPULAR

because:

(i) **The Aristocratic government of the Feudal Lords had been crushed** by the rulers of France, Spain, England, Portugal, Austria, and Scandinavia, and law and order had been secured through the growth of the royal power.

(ii) **The Theocratic government of the Medieval Church had been broken by the Reformation.**

(iii) **The Protestants set up the authority of the State** against the authority of the Church.

(iv) **The peoples of Europe were unfit for self-government.**

(v) **New knowledge in science and philosophy,** summed up in the word "enlightenment," converted rulers to the belief that power brings with it responsibilities.

The Theory of Divine Right is best expressed in Bossuet's *Politics as derived from the Very Words of the Holy Scriptures.* God is the true King. But He establishes kings to be His ministers, and through them rules over all peoples. Royal authority emanates from God; therefore

the person of the king is sacred. A king ought not to be a tyrant, but rule for the good of his subjects; but "One should always respect the princes, always serve them, whatever they may be, good or bad, for there is an inherent holiness in the royal character, and the prince does not lose through his crimes the quality of a seignior." This is true not only of political liberty but also of religious liberty, and "Those who will not suffer that the king should use rigour in the matter of religion, because religion should be free, are living in ungodly error."

The best example of the enlightened despot is Louis XIV (1643–1715). Among others are: Peter the Great (1689–1725) and Catherine II (1762–1796) of Russia; Maria Theresa (1740–1780) and Joseph II (1765–1790) of Austria; Frederick the Great (1740–1786) of Prussia; Leopold of Tuscany (1765–1790).

The three exceptions to the general rule were Poland, the Dutch Republic, and Great Britain.

THE POLICY OF THE BENEVOLENT DESPOTS

was marked by:

(i) **A "family policy."** Each country belonged, like a private estate, to the ruler. No longer religion but territorial aggrandizement became the main cause of war.

(ii) **The Assumption that the advantage of the State justifies every public act,** e.g. the partitions of Poland. Frederick the Great was only distinguished from other rulers by his cynical frankness.

(iii) **Centralization and the establishment of a Bureaucracy.**

(iv) **A Standing Army,** instead of untrustworthy mercenaries.

(v) **Scientific Taxation.**

(vi) **The Welfare of the State,** e.g. encouragement of Education, Industry, Agriculture. "The prince," said Frederick the Great, "far from being the absolute master of the state, is only its chief domestic."

Disadvantages:

(i) *Work done from above.* Hence character and initiative of the people weakened.

(ii) *Such rulers not to be secured under a system of hereditary succession,* e.g. Louis XIV followed by Louis XV; Frederick the Great by Frederick William II; Charles III of Spain by Charles IV.

(iii) *Reforms were to increase the strength of the state and the ruler, not primarily to help the people.*

XVIII THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV

(1643–1715)

(1) INTRODUCTION

The foundation of the power of Louis XIV was laid by Henry IV and his minister Sully, Richelieu, and Mazarin. Their policy was to destroy (*a*) The organized Huguenots, (*b*) The Provincial Governors, theoretically agents of the crown but practically independent.

(i) HENRY IV (1589–1610)

consolidated France:

(*a*) **Ended the Wars of the Huguenots.** Wearied of the tyranny of the League, France welcomed his victories, and he won Paris by "the lip-service of a mass" (1593).

(*b*) **Solved the religious problem by the Edict of Nantes** (1598). He placed the interests of the State above the interests of the Church. Sup-

ported by the Huguenots and the Politiques, he aimed at winning over their Catholic opponents, e.g. received Papal absolution (1595); recalled the Jesuits.

(*c*) **Raised the Prestige of France abroad.** He ended the war with Spain by the Treaty of Vervins (1598), so that France was now safe from the designs of Philip II.

"The grand design," mentioned in Sully's *Memoirs*, and ended by Henry's assassination, which aimed at the establishment of a universal Christian republic in Europe, would probably have turned out to be a league against the House of Hapsburg.

(ii) **RICHELIEU** (1624–1642)

aimed not at reform but at crushing his opponents.

(*a*) **Ended the Political Power of the Huguenots.** After the taking of La Rochelle (Peace of Alais, 1629), they were no longer an armed political party, but a tolerated sect. What was an end for Richelieu, however, was the first step of the Catholic Party.

(*b*) **Humbled the Nobility.** By the "Red Robe" régime he destroyed their fortified châteaux and suppressed a dozen conspiracies, e.g. Gaston of Orleans (brother of Louis XIII); Mary de' Medici, the Queen-Mother ("Day of Dupes," 1630); execution of Montmorency (1632); plot of Cinq-Mars (1642). He also substituted an official class of Intendants for the aristocratic governors.

(*c*) **Schemed to ruin Spain and the Empire.** The Thirty Years' War was partly the result of his policy. By bringing in Sweden and persuading her not to sign a separate peace, he succeeded in prolonging the war, until all powers but France (which entered the struggle last in 1635) were

exhausted. Hence Mazarin, who inherited his policy, was able to secure the dominance of France at the Treaty of Westphalia (1648).

(iii) **MAZARIN** (1642–1661)
carried on the system of Richelieu during the minority of Louis XIV.

(*a*) **Put down the Two Frondes,** attempts against the despotism established by Richelieu. The Old Fronde (1648–1649), caused by the resistance of the Parlement of Paris, shows the influence of the English Roundheads. The New Fronde (1650–1653) was the last effort of the nobles against the Crown.

b) **Triumphed over the Empire and Spain.** The Peace of Westphalia (1648) left the Empire exhausted. The war against Spain (1635–1659), begun during the Thirty Years' War, was continued until the Treaty of the Pyrenees, by which (1) France received Roussillon and most of Alsace, (2) Louis XIV married Maria Theresa.

(2) THE PACIFIC PERIOD (1661–1667)

Louis XIV has been described as "by far the ablest man who was born in modern times on the steps of a throne" (Acton), and "The best *actor* of majesty that ever filled a throne" (Bolingbroke). France became the leading power of Europe, not only in war and diplomacy, but also in civilization. The system of absolute government which Louis carried on for fifty years was characteristic of the whole age.

Louis did not say "L'état, c'est moi" — an epigram invented by Voltaire — but the words are true. The brilliance of his court at Versailles dazzled the eyes of Europe. French manners and fashions and literature

were copied everywhere. French soldiers and diplomats — aided by the relative weakness of other states — were everywhere successful. Yet, in the end, he failed. Both his foreign policy and his internal administration helped to sow the seeds of the French Revolution. "If it be asked who did the most towards the destruction of the ancient régime, the correct answer is, beyond all question, Louis XIV, its greatest representative."

(*a*) THE CENTRALIZATION OF AUTHORITY

The States-General (unlike the English Parliament) did not hold the purse-strings, and when Louis took charge had not met for forty-seven years.

(i) *The Executive* was in the hands of the Royal Councils, composed of middle-class men, mostly lawyers. The nobles and clergy were excluded from political power. The administration was controlled by capable secretaries, e.g. Tellier, Colbert, Louvois, Lionne.

(ii) *Local Government.* — The Provincial Parlements, Estates, and Governors continued, but the real power was in the hands of the Intendants, responsible only to the King.

(*b*) THE WORK OF COLBERT,

whose influence during this part of the reign was supreme.

Colbert wished to make France — feudal, aristocratic, and military — into a commercial state. The small measure of success he achieved was in spite of the condition of the country (with its corrupt justice, unjust taxation, and inefficient bureaucracy) and the false commercial theory of the time (which believed that commercial prosperity depended on selling as many products to foreigners as possible, and buying as little as possible from them).

His work included:

(i) **Reorganization of the Finances,** e.g. Introduction of the budget system (now adopted by all European states); inauguration of the system of Protection (to protect French industries).

(ii) **Colonization,** e.g. supported the Cavalier de la Salle in Louisiana, emigration to Canada, the development of trade in India, and the strengthening of the Navy. But the ambitions of Louis and the spirit of the French people were against him.

(iii) **Encouragement of Art and Literature,** e.g. Architecture (Hôtel des Invalides, Palace of Versailles, additions to the Louvre); four new Academies founded (e.g. for Science and Music).

Louis believed that one of the chief objects of government is the development of art, literature, and science. He aimed at the control of public opinion through men of letters. But no intellectual effort associated with the reign of Louis XIV was due to his personal inspiration. Among a host of writers were: the three great playwriters — Corneille (1606–1684), with his tragedy *Le Cid;* Racine (1639–1699); and *Molière* (1622–1673), with *Le Misanthrope* and *Le Tartuffe.* Descartes (1596–1650) was the father of modern philosophy. Pascal (1623–1662) wrote his *Pensées*, and Lafontaine (1621–1695) his *Fables.* Fénelon (1651–1715) wrote *The Adventures of Telemachus*, a disguised satire on the reign of Louis XIV.

(3) THE PERIOD OF AGGRESSION (1667–1713)

During this period the policy of Louvois, Minister of War (1668–1691) prevailed. To him the internal development of France was of little account. He not only encouraged Louis in his military adventures, but

approved the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. His chief work was the organization of a standing army — discipline (Martinet!); commissary department; new weapons, e.g. flintlock (replaced matchlock) and bayonet; field hospitals. Great generals, e.g. Condé, Turenne; engineers, e.g. Vauban. It is claimed, however, that the credit should go to Tellier, the father of Louvois.

Louis, in his diplomacy, was aided by the relative weakness of other States:

(i) *Decline of Spain*, owing to the Thirty Years' War and the revolt of Portugal.

(ii) *Break-up of the Imperial power in Germany* after the Thirty Years' War. Hence, France was fringed by a series of small territories too feeble to defend themselves, which Germany was too feeble to protect.

In addition, the Emperor Leopold I (1658–1705) was hampered by wars with the Turks (1661–1664, and 1682–1699), and the rising of the Hungarians (1677–1682).

(iii) *England*, under Charles II and James II (1660–1688), *made no real resistance to French projects.*

Philip IV of Spain had no son, and his daughter, Maria Theresa, was heir to his dominions. As early as 1646 Mazarin planned that Louis should marry the Infanta, so that France might get possession of the Spanish Empire. After the Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659) Louis married Maria Theresa, who renounced her rights, which were transferred to her sister. This renunciation was conditional on the payment of the Infanta's dowry — which payment was not made. From the moment of the marriage the main object of French policy was, by diplomacy or by force, to make the succession secure.

In 1665 Philip IV died. But he had married again,

and left an infant son, Charles II. Hence, the fulfilment of French hopes was postponed for a generation.

The Period of Aggression can be divided into (*a*) Success (1667–1678). (*b*) Peace Interval (1678–1688). (*c*) Failure (1688–1713).

(*a*) **SUCCESS** (1667–1678)

Richelieu had aimed at the restoration of the " natural boundaries " of France. Before the death of Mazarin France gained Alsace and reached the Pyrenees.

The accession of Charles II to the throne of Spain left Louis with no immediate hope of the Spanish Empire. However, he hit on a device to acquire a part. By the so-called jus devolutionis (a local custom of Brabant and Hainault, by which, though a man might have married more than once, the children of his first marriage succeeded to his property), in spite of his wife's renunciation, Louis claimed the Spanish Netherlands. There followed :

(i) **The War of Devolution** (1667–1668). French successes caused the weaker states — Holland, England, and Sweden — to form the Triple Alliance, in order to restore the balance of power. This " first formal expression of European resistance to the aggressions of Louis " forced France to agree to the advantageous *Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle* (1668), by which she received twelve fortified towns (e.g. Lille, Tournay) on the border of the Spanish Netherlands.

Louis, hostile to the Dutch on account of their initiation of the Triple Alliance, their commercial supremacy, and their Calvinism, by skilful diplomacy isolated them from England and Sweden. By a direct attack on Holland he hoped to gain his ends in the Spanish Netherlands. This policy was counter to French policy since Francis I —

Catholic interests at home and Protestant abroad. "In Holland," says Mignet, "the old political system of France went shipwreck."

(ii) **The War against Holland** (1672–1678). After the murder by the mob of the brothers de Witt, the leaders of the aristocratic republican party, William III of Orange was chosen Stadtholder. The opening of the sluices saved the province of Holland and the town of Amsterdam from the invader. The Dutch were joined by Brandenburg, the Empire, and Spain; and England, the ally of Louis, made peace. Faced by a coalition, Louis agreed to the *Peace of Nimwegen* (1678). (1) Holland received back all her territory. (2) Spain ceded to France Franche Comté and more towns on the north-east frontier (e.g. Valenciennes, Cambrai).

Louis now reached the height of his power.

(*b*) **PEACE INTERVAL** (1678–1688)

Marked by:

(i) **Encroachments on German Territory.** In order to give greater weight to his influence in Germany when the opportunity came, Louis adopted the view that the German Charles the Great was in reality a French Charlemagne, and that "what once belonged to France continued to be by right the inalienable possession of the French Crown, though it had been sold, exchanged, or given away." Chambers of Reunion were set up to decide what dependencies had at any time belonged to the territories and towns which had been ceded to France by the last four treaties, and Louis occupied Strasburg and Casale (1681). Also, although no Chamber could grant it, he seized Luxemburg (1683).

By the Truce of Ratisbon (1684) the Emperor guaranteed to France for twenty years all places obtained by reunion up to August 1, 1681.

(ii) **Revocation of the Edict of Nantes** (1685). The Huguenots had lost their political ambitions in the days of Richelieu; they took no part in the Fronde; they supported the commercial ideas of Colbert. The revocation was due to the intolerance of Louis and the Church of France.

Results:

(*a*) Caused emigration to Brandenburg, England, and Holland.

(*b*) Gave a blow to industry of France.

(*c*) Helped to overthrow James II, whereby England joined the enemies of France.

(*d*) Caused the rising of the Camisards (1702–1710), which hampered Louis in the War of the Spanish Succession.

(*c*) **FAILURE** (1688–1713)

(i) **The War of the Grand Alliance** (1688–1697). (The War Concerning the Palatinate, or The War of the League of Augsburg.) On the refusal of the Emperor to make the Truce of Ratisbon into a definite peace, Louis claimed the Palatinate (for the sister of the late Elector, who had married Orleans, the brother of Louis).

Meanwhile **William of Orange** (1650–1702), whose life ambition was to save Holland from Louis, built up the League of Augsburg (1686) — Holland, the Empire, Sweden, Spain, Bavaria, Saxony, the Palatinate. The Revolution of 1688, which made William King of England, brought England into the war, and the League of Augsburg became the Grand Alliance (1689). Charles II and James II had been in the pay of Louis, but now English

money and the English navy gradually turned the scales against France.

After the War of the Grand Alliance, consisting mainly of sieges, Louis, foreseeing greater trouble when the throne of Spain should fall vacant, agreed to the *Treaty of Ryswick* (1697).

(i) France yielded ground for the first time since Richelieu's accession to power, retaining only Strasburg and Alsace of the gains since 1678.

(ii) The Dutch were allowed to garrison the "Barrier Fortresses."

(iii) Louis acknowledged William as King of England.

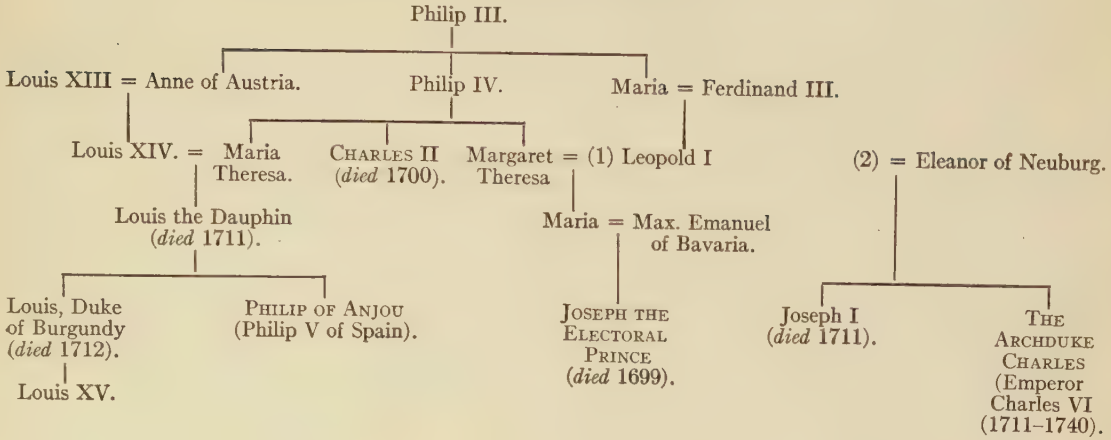
(ii) **The War of the Spanish Succession** (1702–1713). "The hinge on which the whole reign of Louis XIV was turning."

For many years Europe had looked forward with apprehension to the death of the childless Charles II of Spain. His dominions were enormous, but the decay of Spain (e.g. loss of military ascendancy; weakness of the Crown and increasing power of the Church; poor financial policy) left her an easy prey.

(*a*) **Legal Grounds.** — The three claimants to the Spanish Empire were:

(1) Philip of Anjou — grandson of Louis XIV and younger son of the Dauphin. The Dauphin claimed through his mother, Maria Theresa, eldest daughter of Philip IV and sister of Charles II. Louis held that her renunciation to the crown of Spain was void because her dowry had never been paid and the renunciation had never been confirmed either by the Cortes or by the Parlement of Paris.

THE SPANISH SUCCESSION


Philip III.
Louis XIII = Anne of Austria.
Philip IV.
Maria = Ferdinand III.
Louis XIV. =
Maria Theresa.
Charles II (*died* 1700).
Margaret Theresa = (1) Leopold I
(2) = Eleanor of Neuburg.
Louis the Dauphin (*died* 1711).
Maria = Max. Emanuel of Bavaria.
Louis, Duke of Burgundy (*died* 1712).
Philip of Anjou (Philip V of Spain).
Joseph the Electoral Prince (*died* 1699).
Joseph I (*died* 1711).
The Archduke Charles (Emperor Charles VI (1711–1740).
Louis XV.

(2) The Archduke Charles — son of the Emperor Leopold I. Leopold claimed as the grandson of Philip III, and because he had married Margaret Theresa, the younger sister of Charles, and his daughter, Maria Antonia, had surrendered her right to him.

(3) Joseph, the Electoral Prince — who claimed as great-grandson of Philip IV.

But it was impossible that the question should be decided on mere legal grounds.

(*b*) **Political Grounds.** — England and Holland would not permit the crown of the great Spanish monarchy to be united with France or to be worn by the ruler of the Austrian lands, since this would upset the balance of power.

(*c*) **Commercial Grounds.** — The maritime powers of England and Holland feared the loss of the commercial privileges they held during the reign of Charles II, and that France would acquire the monopoly of trade with Spanish America.

Louis and William, therefore, signed the *First Partition Treaty* (1698), by which Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, and the Indies were to go to the Electoral Prince; Milan and Luxemburg to the Archduke Charles; Naples and Sicily to Philip.

On the death of the Electoral Prince was signed the *Second Partition Treaty* (1700), by which the Archduke Charles was to have Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, and the Indies, and Philip Naples, Sicily, and Milan (to be exchanged for Lorraine).

Charles II, however, left Spain to Philip, and Louis accepted the crown for his grandson.

For a few months it did not seem that war was inevi-

table. But Louis, by a series of rash acts, raised up against him a new Grand Alliance. He

(1) Reserved the right of Philip to the French Crown.
(2) Seized the barrier fortresses, and so threatened Holland.
(3) Recognized the Old Pretender as King of England.

The Grand Alliance of England and Holland with the Emperor Leopold I (1701) was afterwards joined by Brandenburg, Portugal, Denmark, and Savoy. Their leaders were Eugene of Savoy, Marlborough, and (after the death of William, 1702) Heinsius, pensionary of Holland. On the other side were France, Spain, and Bavaria.

Marlborough's victory at Blenheim over the French and Bavarians established the ascendancy of the Allies (1704). After Turin (1706) the French were driven from Italy, and after Ramillies (1706) from the Spanish Netherlands.

In Spain the Archduke Charles, although aided by a rising of the Catalans, failed.

The war was ended by the **Treaty of Utrecht** (1713).

(1) *Spain.* — Philip V recognized as King.
(2) *Holland.* — Gained the right of garrisoning certain towns (e.g. Ypres, Ghent, Tournay, Mons, Namur) and of closing the Scheldt.
(3) *England.* — Received Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Hudson Bay (from France), and Gibraltar and Minorca (from Spain).
(4) *Savoy.* — Received island of Sicily.
(5) *Brandenburg.* — The Elector recognized as King of Prussia, and given Spanish Guelderland.
(6) *Austria.* — Received Naples, Sardinia, Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands (by Peace of Rastadt and Baden, 1714).

Note the inclusion in the treaty of commercial terms, e.g. The Assiento, by which England received from Spain the monopoly for thirty years of the slave trade with Spanish-America hitherto enjoyed by France.

Results:

(1) *The rule of the Hapsburgs in Spain came to an end.*

(2) *The acquisitions of Austria caused the Hapsburgs to devote themselves to Austrian rather than to German interests*, and so paved the way for the rise of Prussia.

(3) *Holland*, after the long struggle against France, *ceased to be a leading power.*

(4) *The hope of France to dominate Europe came to an end.* However (except for a few towns on the Eastern frontier), she lost nothing on the Continent which she had gained in the previous wars of Louis, and retained Artois and most of Flanders, Valenciennes, and Cambrai, Alsace and Franche Comté. But the price had been heavy. "Do not imitate my love for building and for war, and assuage the misery of my people," were the last words of Louis XIV.

XIX THE RISE OF RUSSIA

(1) STEPS IN THE GROWTH OF RUSSIA

(i) **Foundation of Slavonic States at Kieff and Novgorod** by "Russian" adventurers from Scandinavia under Rurik (862).

(ii) Vladimir of Kieff converted to **Greek** Christianity (988).

(iii) **Russia subject to the Tartars** (1237–1480). — The great Khan of the Golden Hord exacted tribute, but left the Russians their laws and religion. Gradually *Moscow* (founded 1147) became the national centre of Russia, owing to: (*a*) Position at crossing of trade routes. (*b*) Success of its princes in collecting the tribute paid to the Tartars. (*c*) Disasters to Kieff (e.g. devastated by the Mongols, 1239).

Under Ivan III (1462–1505) Russia gained its freedom from the Tartars, who had been weakened by the onslaught of Timur. Later, the small Tartar states which appeared on their ruins were all conquered — Kazan and Astrakhan by Ivan the Terrible (1530–1584), and the Crimea not until the time of Catherine II.

(iv) **The Creation of Autocracy.** — (*a*) *There was no constitutional check on the Tsar.* Decline of the Veche (or Parliament), which before the coming of the Tartars had elected the prince. The Duma (of Boyars, or nobles) met only by the will of the Tsar, and no one had the right to be summoned. The limitation of the power of the Boyars was continued by Ivan the Terrible, who created a class of service Boyars. There existed no institutions which the Tsar was forced to respect. Russian law was only a collection of the ukases of the Tsars. Before 1906 there was no assembly to discuss taxation, or even to present petitions. (*b*) *The Russian Church became dependent on the Tsar*, owing to its breach with the Greek Church (fifteenth century). (*c*) *There was no Middle Class* — Russia was a nation of peasants (moujiks). After the end of the sixteenth century (1597) the peasant remained attached to the land he culti-

vated, and subject to the proprietor. Only in the North-East, on the shores of the Dnieper, and in the Ukraine did they remain free. With Russia backward in industry there was no middle class — only nobles and peasants — and the peasants were the worst off in Europe and more like slaves than serfs.

(v) **The House of Romanov** (1613–1762) succeeded the House of Rurik (862–1598). Alexis (1645–1676) reconquered Little (White) Russia from Poland, and began to introduce European civilization. Meanwhile the Cossacks colonized Siberia, and by the end of the seventeenth century reached the Pacific.

(vi) **Influence of Geography on the Development of Russia.** — A vast, unbroken plain favored: (*a*) Expansion from Moscow. (*b*) One Empire, rather than a number of small states. (*c*) The growth of autocracy. (*d*) Isolation from Western Europe.

(2) PETER THE GREAT (1682–1725)

"In a single reign, by the action of one man, Russia passed from obscurity to a place among the nations."

Peter and his brother were made joint Tsars (1682–1696). After his brother's death Peter undertook his first European tour (1697–1698), when he worked in the dockyard of Deptford. Recalled to Russia, he crushed a revolt of the Streltsi. On the death of the Swiss Lefort, Menshikoff, once a vendor of meat-pies, became his favorite (1699). Returning from his second European tour (1716–1717), he murdered his son, Alexis (1718). "Forgive everything!" were his last words, scrawled on a piece of paper. "To open a window to the West," was the keynote of his policy.

The work of Peter may be discussed under: (i) The Great Northern War. (ii) Internal Reformation.

(i) THE GREAT NORTHERN WAR (1700–1721)

(*a*) **The Political Situation.** — By the Union of Calmar (1397) the three Scandinavian kingdoms of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark confederated under one ruler. In 1523, however, Sweden declared her independence of Denmark.

After the Thirty Years' War (1648) Sweden, whose possessions almost surrounded the Baltic, became the dominant power in Northern Europe. Poland, once under the House of Jagellon (1386–1572) the most formidable kingdom, was, under an elective King, John Casimir (1648–1668), rapidly falling a victim to an anarchical constitution. Russia, under Alexis (1645–1676), was beginning to recover the territory wrested from her by the Turks and the Poles. Brandenburg, under Frederick William, the great Hohenzollern Elector (1640–1688), started on a career of consolidation and conquest.

As yet, however, neither Russia nor Brandenburg was in a position to oppose Sweden. Meanwhile the aim of Sweden was to complete the conquest of the Baltic, and the wars of Charles X (1654–1660) were ended after his death by the treaties of:

(1) Oliva (1660) with Brandenburg — Sweden to hold north part of Livonia; Brandenburg to hold East Prussia.

(2) Copenhagen (1660) with Denmark — Denmark ceded her lands on the mainland of Sweden (Bohus, Holland, Scania, Bleking).

(3) Kardis (1661) with Russia.

Hence, in 1667, *the territorial position was as follows:*

Sweden. — Modern Sweden, with Finland, Carelia, Ingria, Esthonia, Livonia (Latvia), West Pomerania.

Poland. — Included Kurland and West Prussia.

Brandenburg. — Consisted of East Prussia and East Pomerania.

Denmark. — Modern Norway and modern Denmark.

Russia. — Reconquered Little Russia from Poland (Treaty of Andrussovo, 1667).

The defeat of Sweden (the ally of Louis XIV in the war against Holland) by Brandenburg at Fehrbellin (1675), although she lost no territory, showed that her military power was passing.

(*b*) **The Aims of Peter the Great.** — The policy of Peter was the Europeanization of Russia. The Caspian was an inland lake and the White Sea was ice-bound the greater part of the year. Warm-water ports, on the Baltic and on the Black Sea, were essential to national development, but Sweden commanded the former and Turkey the latter. The Peace of Carlowitz with the Turks (1699) forced him to abandon his designs on the Black Sea. Before this, he had promised, when peace came about, to join Denmark and Poland in a league against Sweden. The pretext was the liberation of Livonia (Latvia — which Sweden had acquired in 1660), but the real aim was to despoil Sweden of her Baltic possessions.

The causes were:

(1) The determination of Peter to make Russia a naval power, and to get possession of the harbors of the Baltic, occupied by Sweden, which led to the civilized lands.

(2) The desire of Augustus II to unite Livonia to Poland.

(3) The desire of Frederic IV of Denmark to possess Schleswig-Holstein (which belonged to the brother-in-law of Charles XII of Sweden).

(*c*) **The Northern War.** — Sweden, however, under the youthful *Charles XII* (1697–1718), proved no easy prey. He besieged Copenhagen, and forced Denmark to sign the Treaty of Travendal. Then, turning on the Russians, he defeated them at Narva (1700). Next, after defeating Poland and invading Saxony, he forced Augustus to abdicate the Polish crown (Treaty of Altranstädt, 1706).

At last, however, marching on Moscow, in alliance with the Cossack Mazeppa, Charles was defeated by Peter at **Pultowa** (1709), and fled to the Turks.

The **Peace of Nystad** (1721), between Russia and Sweden, *marks the downfall of Sweden*, which ceded to Russia — Livonia (Latvia), Esthonia, Ingria, and part of Carelia. Already, in 1703, Peter had begun to reclaim the land on which he built St. Petersburg.

Of all her Baltic provinces, Sweden only retained Finland (part of which she lost in 1743, and the rest in 1809) and West Pomerania (which she held until 1815). She became, in fact, a third-rate power.

(ii) INTERNAL REFORMATION

(*a*) **The Foundation of Tsardom.**

(1) *Substitution of a small Advisory Council appointed by the Tsar for the Council of Boyars* (Duma). — The nobles lost political power, but were forced to serve in the army, the navy, or the civil service.

(2) *Organization of the Empire into Eight Governments* (1708). — Each governor was assisted by a provincial council elected from the nobles.

(3) *Establishment of a Central Administration* of ten ministries (Foreign affairs, war, the navy, the treasury, law, the revenue, noble estates, industries, mining, and trade).

(4) *Control of the Church by the Civil Power.* — The office of Patriarch (of Moscow) was abolished, and his powers given to the Holy Synod, composed of bishops chosen by the Tsar and a layman, the direct representative of the Tsar, as chairman.

(5) *Organization of Local Government.* — The elected Town Councils were controlled by a chief magistrate nominated by the Tsar. The villages, however, were left under the old communal system of the Mir — the village council, which periodically allotted the lands according to the size of the families.

(6) *Establishment of an army after the European pattern in place of the Streltsi.*

(*b*) **Introduction of Western Civilization.**

(1) *Encouragement of Industry and Commerce.* — Introduction of foreign artisans (iron works, sails, leather, cloth). Commercial treaties (e.g. with France).

(2) *Development of Education.* — Establishment of elementary schools and technical schools. Foundation of the Academy of Sciences (at the suggestion of Leibnitz), which came into existence after Peter's death. Introduction of the new " civil script," thus simplifying the alphabet (1707).

(3) *Religious Toleration.* — Except to Jesuits (regarded as political intriguers), Jews (" rascals and cheats "), and the " old believers."

(4) *Abolition of Customs.* — Eastern seclusion of women discouraged. Falling on knees before Tsar forbidden. Cumbrous old Muscovite garments forbidden. Beards taxed.

During thirty years " the terrorized Russian nation had been compelled to break with the traditions of centuries and accept a whole series of social and political reforms secretly loathed by it as so many abominations." From the death of Peter the Great the history of Russia is mainly the history of her diplomacy and wars.

(3) CATHERINE II (1762–1796)

From the death of Peter the Great to the accession of Catherine II (1725–1762) three Tsars and three Tsarinas ruled.

Under Catherine II the Court of St. Petersburg imitated the habits of Western civilization, though the nation at large was little, if at all, affected by her desire to introduce reforms. Most reforms, indeed, existed only on paper, e.g. emancipation of the serfs, free trade. Catherine corresponded with Grimm, Voltaire, Diderot, and D'Alembert. She encouraged literature, e.g. Wisin (the " Russian Molière "). Her ministers were Panin (to 1781), and then the favorite Potemkin.

More successful was her Foreign Policy. Her main objects were to secure control over Poland and Sweden, and to advance the borders of Russia in the direction of Constantinople.

(i) POLAND

(*a*) **The Weakness of Poland.**

(1) *Geographical Weakness.* — No natural boundaries on the East or West.

(2) *Lack of National Consciousness.* — The Poles were a conquering race which had never amalgamated with the conquered peoples.

(3) *Weakness of the Central Government.* — The power of the Crown was destroyed, and the

constitution of Poland — an aristocratic republic with an elected king — was the "legal organization of revolution" (e.g. the liberum veto).

(4) *Absence of a Strong Middle Class.* — Gradually (from 1374–1572) a system of spoliation had robbed the serfs of their rights, so that all the land, as well as the serfs living on it, became the property of the nobles. There existed no middle class to bridge the gulf between the peasants and the nobles. ("If they kill a peasant . . . they say they have killed a dog.")

(5) *The Relative Strength of Other States*, which, in contrast to Poland, had built up strong centralized governments on the ruins of the feudal system.

(*b*) **The First Partition of Poland** (1772). — The result of her weakness was that Poland was controlled by foreign powers, and after 1572 few candidates who were not foreigners ascended the throne. After the death of Augustus III, Catherine, in alliance with Frederick the Great, procured the election of her protégé, Stanislaus Poniatowski (1764–1795).

At the request of Russia and Prussia the Dissenters (Greek Church) and the Protestants received equal rights with the Catholics. The result was a rising of the Confederates against Russia and Prussia. Catherine was able to take advantage of the decay of Poland, but was forced to share the spoils with Prussia and Austria. The excuse was the seizure of Zips by Austria. The schemes of the three powers were aided by the absorption of Choiseul, the French minister, in plans against England.

Russia received the region between the Duna, Dnieper, and Drutsch (i.e. the eastern part of Lithuania).

Austria received East Galicia and Lodomeria.

Prussia received Polish Prussia (West Prussia, with the exception of Danzig, Thorn, and Ermeland) and the Netze district.

(*c*) **The Second Partition of Poland** (1793). — The outbreak of the French Revolution gave Catherine her chance.

Russia received the rest of Lithuania, and also Volhynia and Podolia.

Prussia received Danzig and Thorn, and the whole of Great Poland (South Prussia).

(*d*) **Third Partition of Poland** (1795), which took place after the rising of Kosciuszko.

Prussia received Masovia with Warsaw, the region between the Vistula, Bug, and Niemen (New East Prussia), part of Cracow (New Silesia).

Austria received West Galicia as far as the Bug.

Russia received all that remained towards the East.

Results:

(1) There was no longer any buffer state between Russia and the West European states.

(2) Austria was encumbered with territory which did away with the former security of her north-east frontier.

(ii) TURKEY

During the seventeenth century the Turks gradually lost possession of the Danube. The capture of Crete (1669) was their last conquest. In 1683 a German and Polish army under Sobieski of Poland forced them to raise the siege of Vienna. Finally, by the *Peace of Carlowitz* (1699), Turkey received the Banat of Temesvar, and

Austria the rest of Hungary and Transylvania. Later, by the *Peace of Passarowitz* (1718), Austria gained the Banat of Temesvar, a part of Serbia, with Belgrade and Little Wallachia.

Catherine aimed at reviving the Greek Empire at Constantinople.

(*a*) **First War against the Turks** (1768–1774) was ended by the Peace of Kutchuk-Kainardji.

(1) Russia retained Azoff, Kerch, Yenikali, and Kinburn.

(2) She received Great and Little Kabardia.

(3) The Black Sea, Bosphorus, and Dardanelles were opened to Russian ships.

The Turkish frontier was pushed back to the River Bug.

(*b*) **Second War** (1787–1792), ended by the Peace of Jassy. The Dniester became the boundary of Russia, and the north shore of the Black Sea to the Caucasus was Russian.

XX THE RISE OF PRUSSIA

The Hohenzollerns, originally counts of a small district in the Suabian Jura, had been burgraves of Nuremberg in the Middle Ages. In 1415 Frederick of Nuremberg was invested by Sigismund with the Electoral Mark of Brandenburg. Gradually, by grants, by succession, and by conquest, the Hohenzollerns, by the close of the fifteenth century, collected three groups of territories:

(i) The Electoral Mark of Brandenburg, to which had been added: (*a*) The New Mark. (*b*) Eastern (Further) Pomerania, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, and Minden (by Treaty of Westphalia, 1648).

(ii) The Duchy of East Prussia (held as a fief of Poland).
(iii) The Duchies of Cleves and the Mark on the Rhine near Cologne.

These three groups were isolated from one another, and the people were not of the same race — German in the Centre and West; in Pomerania and East Prussia largely Slav. Each had its separate "Estates," laws, and customs. The "Estates" were formed of ignorant feudal nobles, who had great power over their serfs. The whole country was in a backward condition, with poor soil and few industries.

The Prussian monarchy, indeed, lacked most of the elements of unity — unity of race, unity of creed, and the consciousness of a common history. The only bond of union was the personal connection with the Elector. Not until Frederick William, the Great Elector, did the dynasty "enter into the spirit of the problem."

(1) THE GREAT ELECTOR (1640–1688)

(*a*) HOME POLICY

(i) **Centralization.** — In order to link together his scattered dominions, Frederick William:

(*a*) *Gradually limited the "Estates,"* e.g. local government controlled by Crown officials.
(*b*) *Enlarged the "Privy Council,"* which, originally the Council of the Mark of Brandenburg, now became a board of supervision over all the provinces.
(*c*) *Revised the system of taxation,* e.g. Excise (for the old home and land tax).
(*d*) *Substituted a standing army for the insubordinate feudal array.*
(*e*) *Left the nobles their manorial rights, but made them depend on the crown for advancement.*

(ii) **Restoration of Prosperity after Thirty Years' War.** — Introduced system of home colonization (carried on by himself and the first three Prussian kings). Between 1670 and 1770 about one-sixth of the total population were immigrants, especially Dutch (dairy farms, potato fields, draining) and French (woollen manufacturers, soldiers, doctors). His efforts to improve manufactures and trade were helped by his policy of:

(iii) **Religious Toleration.** — By the Edict of Potsdam (1684) French Protestants were offered "a sure and free refuge."

(*b*) **FOREIGN POLICY**

Only the interests of the state decided the political action of the great elector, who:

(i) Gained territory by Peace of Westphalia (1648).

(ii) Shook off the Polish suzerainty of the Duchy of East Prussia (1657).

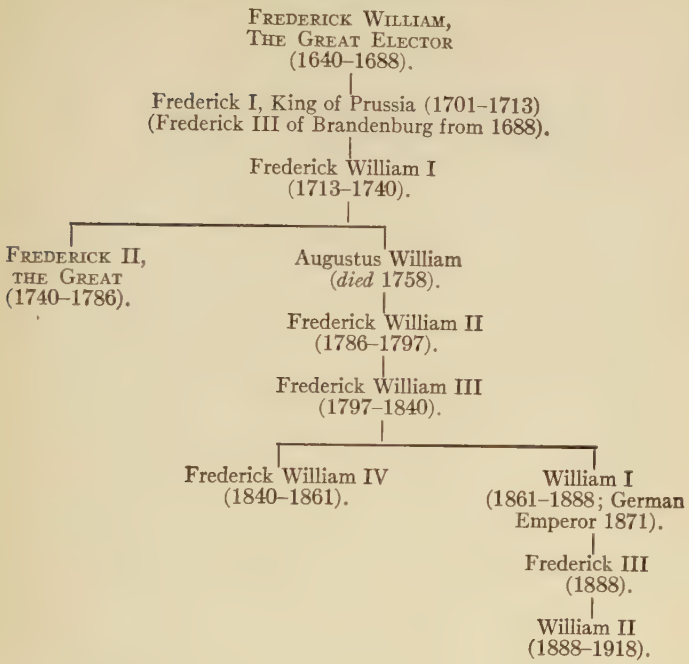
(iii) Resisted attempts to weaken Germany, e.g. defeated the Swedes at Fehrbellin (1675). Joined the League of Augsburg (1686) against Louis XIV — a complete revolution of his foreign policy.

(2) PRUSSIA FROM THE GREAT ELECTOR TO FREDERICK THE GREAT (1688–1740)

(*a*) **Frederick III** (1688–1713). — Elector of Brandenburg and son of the Great Elector, Frederick III, was recognized by the Emperor Leopold as King of Prussia (Frederick I, 1701) in return for his help in the War of the Spanish Succession. By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) he acquired Guelders.

(*b*) **Frederick William I** (1713–1740). — The "Sergeant-King" developed the policy of the Great Elector.

THE HOUSE OF BRANDENBURG


Frederick William, The Great Elector (1640–1688).
Frederick I, King of Prussia (1701–1713) (Frederick III of Brandenburg from 1688).
Frederick William I (1713–1740).
Frederick II, the Great (1740–1786).
Augustus William (*died* 1758).
Frederick William II (1786–1797).
Frederick William III (1797–1840).
Frederick William IV (1840–1861).
William I (1861–1888; German Emperor 1871).
Frederick III (1888).
William II (1888–1918).

(i) *Centralization.* — United the Financial and Military Departments into one supreme Directory of War, Finance, and Royal Domains. Nominally under the Privy Council, the Directory became the instrument of civil and military administration. Foreign affairs were controlled by an interior council.

(ii) *A Strong Army.* — Strictest discipline in Europe (flogging and shooting). Nobles compelled to serve. The "Potsdam Giants."

(iii) *Finance.* — Substituted one uniform tax for the old feudal tenure.

(iv) *Home Colonization* continued, e.g. Protestants from Salzburg.

(v) *Education.*—Over 1,000 schools founded. Primary education made compulsory.

He, and he alone, created the means by which his son raised Prussia to the level of a great power.

(3) FREDERICK II, THE GREAT (1740–1786)

Frederick's youth was spent in the pursuit of music and literature and in quarrels with his brutal father (execution of Katte, who had helped to plan Frederick's flight). But "This unamiable youth, with the aspirations and vanity of a minor poet, was the most consummate practical genius that, in modern times, has inherited a throne."

(*a*) THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION

(First and Second Silesian Wars, 1740–1748.)

Causes:

(i) *The extinction of the male line of the Hapsburgs by the death of the Emperor Charles VI* (1740).

By the Pragmatic Sanction Charles had persuaded the powers—Spain, England, France, and Prussia—to guarantee the succession of his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, to his *hereditary* dominions. These consisted of three groups:

(1) Austria, including Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Tyrol, and scattered fragments of Swabia.

(2) Bohemia, with which went Moravia and Silesia.

(3) Hungary, with Croatia and Transylvania.

On the death of Charles, England, Russia, Prussia, and Holland recognized Maria Theresa's succession. Spain, Sardinia, Saxony, and Bavaria, however, claimed part or all of the Hapsburg lands. They were supported by France, who wished to destroy the power of the Hapsburgs.

(ii) *The Weakness of Austria.*

(1) Lack of national unity. The Hapsburg lands were a conglomeration of races and languages.

(2) Absence of a Centralized Government. Each state had its own chancery, its own administrative, judicial, and financial system. The only institutions common to all three groups and to the outlying possessions in Italy and the Netherlands were the "State Conference," the War Council, and the Treasury.

(3) Financial and military weakness, owing to, e.g., the war against the Turks (1736–1739).

(iii) *The Ambition of Frederick the Great*, who, anticipating the other claimants, invaded Silesia.

The war of the Austrian succession is really **two** wars:

(1) The Jenkins' Ear War (1739) between England and Spain, caused by the English abuses of the Assiento.

(2) The First and Second Silesian Wars (1740) — the attempt of Prussia, France, Bavaria, Spain, and Saxony to dismember the dominions of Maria Theresa.

These two wars were merged into one — England and Austria against France, Spain, and Prussia.

The war was ended by the **Peace** (really Truce) **of Aix-la-Chapelle** (1748), which merely postponed for eight years the conflict between Austria and Prussia for Silesia and between England and France for sea-power and colonies. *Frederick received Silesia.*

(*b*) **THE DIPLOMATIC REVOLUTION** (1748–1756)

Before 1748 Europe was divided into two groups:

(1) England, Austria, Russia, and Portugal.

(2) France, Prussia, Spain, Denmark, Poland, Turkey, and Sweden.

Between 1748 and 1756 there took place the " Reversal of Alliances," by which:

(1) Austria and France put aside the enmity of 200 years.
(2) Austria broke off her long-standing connection with the maritime powers, while England found an ally in Prussia.

Causes:

(1) *The Rise of Prussia*, and the desire of Maria Theresa to recover Silesia.
(2) *French distrust of Frederick.*
(3) *The withdrawal of England* which forced Austria to surrender Silesia.
(4) *The desire of England to protect Hanover* from the united attack of France and Prussia.

The Diplomatic Revolution was the work of *Kaunitz*, until 1753 Austrian Ambassador in France, and then Chancellor of the Empire in Vienna. The main points in his policy were: (1) The recovery of Silesia. (2) That colonial and commercial interests made England indifferent to German questions. (3) That no reliance could be placed on Russia. (4) The necessity of a French alliance. His aims were aided by the Convention of Westminster (1756), by which England and Prussia agreed not to allow the foreign troops of any nation to enter Germany. Hence, Austria was able to persuade France (thus prevented by her Prussian ally from seizing Hanover) to agree by the Treaty of Versailles (1756) to a defensive alliance. After war broke out there followed the Convention of St. Petersburg (1757) between Austria and Russia for the partition of Prussia, and the Second Treaty of Versailles (1757) — an offensive alliance between France and Austria.

Thus Austria succeeded in " changing the most important of the continental powers from an enemy into a friend, in freeing herself from anxiety as to her distant possessions in the Netherlands, and in recovering her freedom of action against the King of Prussia."

But " France committed an act of madness the like of which hardly exists in history." She ought to have concentrated her strength upon the maritime and colonial struggle with England. To evolve herself in a continental war for the partition of Prussia was to play the game of England and Austria.

On the other hand, it may be argued that the true policy of France was to concentrate her attention on the European struggle, since: (1) The French had neither the desire nor the capacity to become a great colonizing power. (2) The weakness of her navy doomed her from the start to defeat in Canada and India.

(*c*) **THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR** (1756–1763)
(or the Third Silesian War)
consisted of two distinct struggles:

(1) *Between Hapsburg and Hohenzollern* — to establish not only the ownership of Silesia but their respective positions in Germany. Frederick, anticipating Austria and Russia, invaded Saxony.
(2) *Between France and England* — for sea-power, commerce, and colonies.

Hence, it may be questioned whether: (1) " Black men fought each other on the coast of Coromandel and red men scalped each other " . . . that Frederick " might rob a neighbor he had promised to defend " (Macaulay). (2) Pitt, as he claimed, " won America in Germany "— since the result of the colonial struggle depended on sea-power.

Frederick, although often defeated, won great victories, e.g. Rossbach (over the French, 1757), Leuthen (over the Austrians, 1757), and Torgau (Austrians, 1760), and by " holding the interior lines," kept at bay the Austrians, Russians, and French.

By 1761 both sides were exhausted. In 1762, the death of Elizabeth made Prussia safe, for her successor, Peter III, an admirer of Frederick, concluded the Peace of St. Petersburg (1762) by which Russia withdrew from the war.

The preliminaries of the Peace of Paris (1763) between England and France made it certain that the French armies would be withdrawn from Germany, and hence Austria and Prussia concluded the **Peace of Hubertsburg** (1763) by which Frederick kept Silesia.

Results of the War:

(1) *Prussia established herself as a great power.*
(2) *The misfortunes of Maria Theresa* form " the opening scenes of that drama of which Sadowa was the close and Sedan the epilogue."
(3) *England became the first colonial power.*
(4) North America became the possession of the Anglo-Saxon race.
(5) The English conquest of Canada helped to cause the American Revolution.
(6) England, isolated, was left without an ally in the War of American Independence.

(*d*) HOME POLICY OF FREDERICK

(1) **A Bureaucratic System,** which was, however, certain to decline after his death, since its success depended on the character of the ruler.
(2) **Improvement of Internal Conditions,** so that in seven years the traces of war had disappeared.

Distribution to peasants, e.g. corn, oxen, sheep. Encouragement of colonization in East and West Prussia, Pomerania, and Magdeburg. Marshes drained, canals cut, forests cleared. Development of manufactures, e.g. silk, velvet, linen; of mining, e.g. lead and iron of Silesia.

(3) **Reform of the Jurisdiction.** — Codification of the common law by the Grand Chancellor von Carmer, part of which was published in 1784.

(4) **Religious Toleration,** e.g. the Jesuits (when suppressed by Clement XIV, 1773). "If Turks should come to populate the land," declared Frederick, "I myself shall build them mosques."

(5) **Abolition of Torture.**

(4) TERRITORIAL GAINS OF PRUSSIA (1713–1797)

(i) Guelders (Treaty of Utrecht, 1713).
(ii) Part of Nearer Pomerania (from Sweden, 1720).
(iii) Silesia (Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748).
(iv) Ansbach and Baireuth (Peace of Teschen, after the War of the Bavarian Succession, 1778–1779, of Saxony and Prussia against Austria).
(v) Gains from the three partitions of Poland (1772, 1793, 1795). (*See* Chap. XIX.)

XXI THE STRUGGLE FOR COMMERCE AND COLONIES

During the eighteenth century the expansion of Europe over the so-called backward countries continued — an expansion which began with the voyages of Columbus and Da Gama, and culminated in the nineteenth century by the linking up of the whole world by the discoveries

of science and the inventions of the Industrial Revolution. With the age of geographical discovery, history begins to lose its continental character, and sea-ways take the place of land-ways.

(1) THE PERIOD OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL (1492–1581)

At the end of the sixteenth century no European nation, except Spain and Portugal, owned a single settlement in the New World. The year 1581, when Philip II, having conquered Portugal, closed the port of Lisbon to the Dutch, with a result that they began to make expeditions directly to the East Indies, marks the rise of the sea-power of the Dutch Republic. Another convenient date is 1639, when the Dutch defeated the last real Spanish fleet off the Downs. (*See* Chap. VI.)

(2) THE PERIOD OF THE DUTCH (1581–1688)

The Spanish Empire in the New World survived, but the Portuguese were rapidly overpowered by the Dutch, who set up trading posts in the East Indies, the Cape of Good Hope, and America. (*See* Chap. XV.)

During the seventeenth century the Dutch almost monopolized the carrying trade from the East Indies and between the Mediterranean and the Baltic. They owned three-quarters of the mercantile marine of the world.

Among the **Causes of the Decline of Holland** may be mentioned:

(i) *Change in the political situation*, which at first favored Dutch expansion, e.g. the Thirty Years' War, the Puritan Revolution in England, the aftermath of the Wars of the Huguenots.

(ii) *Their wealth was based on carrying trade, not on manufactures*, and hence there was no reserve of power.

(iii) *Holland was too small and too thinly populated to withstand the attacks by land and sea of France and England.* The long struggle against Louis XIV, which ended with the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), left her exhausted.

(3) THE PERIOD OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE (1688–1815),

sometimes known as the Second Hundred Years' War. The policy of establishing a French Empire dates from Colbert (chief minister of Louis XIV, 1661). He gave France a strong fleet, reorganized the colonies of Canada, Martinique, and St. Domingo, and founded others at Madagascar and Cayenne.

(*a*) NORTH AMERICA TO 1756

The St. Lawrence Valley was discovered by Cartier (1534) and settled by Champlain (1603–1608).

The exploration of the West was begun by the Jesuit Marquette, who reached the Mississippi (1673), and by La Salle, who explored the Mississippi to its mouth (1682), and in 1697 the colony of Louisiana was established.

Features of French colonization in North America were: (1) "A system of authority, working through officials or state monopolies" (compare the individualistic character of English colonial expansion). (2) The exploration and missionary work of the Jesuits. (3) The use of Indians.

By a chain of forts along the Alleghanies (e.g. Duquesne) the thirteen English colonies were shut in between the mountains and the sea, in order that the unexplored West might be won for France.

(*b*) **INDIA TO 1756**

The French East India Company (1664) established factories at Chandernagore, Mahé, the Isle of France (Mauritius), and the Isle of Bourbon (Réunion).

The death of Aurungzebe (1707) and the break-up of the Mogul Empire initiated a new era. Taking advantage of the political situation, Dupleix, who became Governor-General of Pondicherry in 1741, conceived the design not only of expelling the English East India Company, but of setting up a French Empire. By playing off one claimant to the throne against another in the Carnatic and at Haidarabad, Dupleix gained control of the Carnatic and the Deccan (1748–1750). In 1754, however, he was recalled to France.

(*c*) **THE SECOND HUNDRED YEARS' WAR**

(i) **The War of the League of Augsburg** (1688–1697) **and the War of the Spanish Succession** (1702–1713). These were not, in the main, colonial. Nevertheless, at the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) England gained Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia, and established herself in the Mediterranean by the acquisition of Gibraltar.

(ii) **The War of the Austrian Succession** (1740–1748) **and the Seven Years' War** (1756–1763).— The War of the Austrian Succession was indecisive overseas. The Seven Years' War was the culminating period of the struggle. No compromise was possible. In India, as in America, there was no room for both nations. Naval supremacy was the condition of success, and France wasted her resources against Frederick the Great while her fleet was driven from the seas. (*See* Chap. XX.)

The Treaty of Paris (1763) resulted in the expulsion of the French from North America — the

acquisition by England of Canada and Cape Breton, and the transference of Louisiana to Spain. In India, too, the triumph of England gave the resources of the peninsula to the English East India Company.

The Chief Causes of French Failure. — (1) English sea-power. (2) The geographical advantages of Great Britain. (3) The character of colonization. Canada was a reproduction of the France of Louis XIV, lacking the self-government and freedom of New England. (4) Weakness of the central government at Paris, while England was dominated by the genius of Pitt.

(iii) **The War of the American Revolution** (1775–1783), which caused Great Britain, largely owing to the intervention of France and Spain (from 1778), the loss of the Thirteen Colonies, was a check to the growth of the British Empire.

(iv) **The Revolutionary War** (1793–1802) **and the Napoleonic War** (1803–1815) resulted in a triumph for English sea-power and her control of the trade routes, and in 1815 she stood out as the leading naval and colonial power.

PART IV

THE AGE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (1789–1815)

XXII CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

De Tocqueville was the "first to establish, if not to discover, that the Revolution was not simply a break, a reversal, a surprise, but in fact a development of tendencies at work in the old monarchy."

(1) THE UNPOPULARITY OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

The government of France was a despotism, and, after Louis XIV, an incapable despotism — a bureaucracy that stifled all incentive.

(*a*) **The Central Government.** — The King united all authority in his hands.

(i) *The Executive Power.* — The King made his will felt by means of the Royal Council (forty members). The most important minister was the Controller-General.

(ii) *The Legislative Power.* — The States-General, the only representative body, had not been called since 1614. An edict of the King had the force of law, and he also had control of taxation.

(iii) *The Judicial Power.* — The King appointed and controlled the Judges.

(*b*) **Local Government.**—The local agents of the Crown were the *Intendants*. The Intendant was to each district what the Controller-General was to the kingdom. He collected direct taxes, controlled the police, balloted for the militia, and could sentence to death. "This kingdom of France," an observer remarked, "is governed by thirty Intendants."

Local self-government was almost destroyed. Only in Artois, Flanders, Burgundy, Brittany, and Languedoc did the Provincial Estates continue to assemble, and only those of Brittany and Languedoc had managed to preserve the vestiges of power. And the Town Council and the Village Commune were controlled by the Intendant.

(*c*) **The Judicial System.** — Not only was there a multiplicity and confusion of laws, but there was no guarantee of personal liberty. By the use of Lettres de Cachet a man could be sent to prison at the royal pleasure.

The highest Royal Courts were the Parlements (13), of which the Parlement of Paris was the most important. There was no appeal from its decision, It also claimed the political power of registering royal edicts, but the King could always force it to register by coming in person and holding a "lit de justice." The other Royal Law Courts were the Présidiaux (which gave the final decision in many civil cases and also possessed a certain criminal jurisdiction), and the Courts of the Bailliages and Senéchaussées (petty cases).

There were three types of Feudal Courts — Haut Justice, Moyenne Justice, and Basse Justice.

(*d*) **Taxation.** — Almost the entire burden fell on the lower classes. The indirect taxes were leased each year to Farmers-General. "There was once upon

a time a farmer-general — that is all!" was Voltaire's story about robbers.

(i) *The Taille.* — Raised entirely from the Third Estate. In a few provinces it was assessed on land, but elsewhere on income. Often it was arbitrary, "according to the ability."

(ii) *The Vingtième.* — A kind of tithe payable upon all property, but often avoided by the privileged classes.

(iii) *The Capitation.* — A poll-tax upon the head of each household (twenty-two classes, according to rank).

(iv) *The Aides.* — Indirect taxes levied on alcohol, gold and silver ware, iron, paper, etc.

(v) *The Traites* (Customs) required an army of collectors and interfered with internal commerce.

(vi) *The Gabelle* (salt tax). — All over eight years were supposed to consume a minimum quantity of salt (about two and three-quarters litres a year) and taxed accordingly — though certain places and persons were exempt. The price of salt varied, e.g. Dijon, 7 francs; Franche Comté (a few miles to the east), 25 francs; Burgundy, 58 francs; region of Little Salt Tax, 28 francs. Gex, no tax. Fifty thousand troops and agents were required to stop smuggling. The tax fell mainly on the peasant.

(vii) *The Corvée.* — At the will of the Intendant the peasant had to mend bridges, etc., for a certain number of days.

(2) CLASS ANTAGONISM

France was divided into privileged and unprivileged classes.

(*a*) **The Clergy.** — The Church possessed great wealth, and held, perhaps, one-fifth of the soil of France. It still collected tithes, which went not to the parish priest, but to distant chapters or monasteries. The clergy numbered about 130,000. They were exempt from the Taille, and partly exempt from the Vingtième and the Capitation, but paid a " voluntary " subsidy every five years.

The upper clergy were generally courtiers. The parish priests were drawn from the people, and were as a rule popular.

(*b*) **The Nobility** consisted of two classes:

(i) *The Nobility of Birth.* — Of these La Grande Noblesse, who numbered about 1,000, and many of whom lived at Versailles, were the most important. The country nobility (Noblesse de province) were mostly poor and lived on their estates, and as a rule were not unpopular with the peasants. They numbered about 100,000.

(ii) *The New Nobility* (La Noblesse de Robe), who numbered about 40,000, were middle class and bourgeois persons who had purchased the financial privileges of nobility. These so-called Anoblis were also divided into a Great Nobility (Nobility of Parlements and Supreme Courts) and a Lesser Nobility (Nobility of secondary offices of justice and of finance).

The New Nobility were the most hated opponents of the Third Estate.

The nobles had no political power, and might not engage in trade. Hence, they were almost compelled to enter the army or the navy, while the younger sons were often higher clergy. Many possessed little land, and drew their income from their seignorial

rights. *They were exempt from the bulk of direct taxes.*

The privileged classes — nobles and clergy — numbered, then, about 270,000, while the Third Estate — the middle-classes and the peasants — comprised over 20,000,000.

(*c*) **The Middle Classes** owned little land, but possessed nearly all the capital. They supplied the lawyers, judges, civil servants, and contractors. Resenting their almost entire exclusion from the army, the navy, and the diplomatic service (though a rich citizen could easily become ennobled), they studied the writings of the philosophers and the economists. *The leaders of the Revolution* (except Mirabeau and Lafayette) *came from the middle classes.*

(*d*) **The Peasants** were oppressed by an abominable system of taxation. They were irritated by the feudal dues — the Corvée (unpaid labor), the banalites (paying lord for use of mill, oven, and wine-press), the péages (tolls levied on roads and rivers), the droit de colombier, the droit de chasse. It is estimated that four-fifths of a peasant's income went in taxes, tithes, and in rents and dues.

There is no doubt, however, that the evils of their situation have been exaggerated. In 1789 the French peasant was better off than the peasant in other parts of Europe. Serfdom still existed only in Alsace, Lorraine, and Franche Comté. On the other hand, absolute serfdom was general in Russia, Poland, Austria, Hungary, and the greater part of Germany; though the Italian peasants and the German peasants on the Rhine were not so oppressed. The French peasant might marry whom he pleased, and emigrate without leave.

All he was deprived of was the power of selling his property or devising it by will. Villeinage, in fact, was nearly dead.

The Revolution broke out in France because the French peasant was more independent, more wealthy, and better educated than the peasant outside France, and therefore resented the political and social privileges of his landlord and the payment of rent more than the serf objected to his bondage.

(3) THE PROPAGANDA OF THE PHILOSOPHERS

"Intellectual anarchy prepared the way for social anarchy." On the whole, however, the causes of the Revolution were economical and political, not philosophical and social.

Voltaire (1694–1778), who was "less a man than a movement, like the Renaissance or the Reformation," led the attack on the Church, on superstition, intolerance, and injustice ("Crush the infamous thing!"). His *Letters on the English* (1734) marks the beginning of the campaign of the philosophers against the existing order of society. "Everything I see," he said, "is scattering the seeds of a revolution! . . . Happy the young for their eyes shall see it!"

Rousseau (1712–1778), in his *Contract Social* (1762), maintains that "Man was born free, and is everywhere in chains." Existing governments are illegitimate. There is only one government by natural right — the rule of the majority. Society in the Contract Social is "a union of equals who do not, as in the Leviathan, repudiate their equality by their act of union."

Montesquieu (1689–1755), in the *Spirit of the Laws* (1748), opened the eyes of Frenchmen to the disadvantages of their government by his eulogy of the limited monarchy of England.

The Encyclopedia (published from 1751 to 1777) was

edited by Diderot and D'Alembert, and preached the destruction of the monarchy and the Church, the abolition of slavery, and the establishment of a system of education.

The Economists, led by Quesnay, condemned the mercantile system, and advocated "Laissez faire." Their ideas were carried to England by Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations* (1776).

Note the influence of English writers, especially Locke (1632–1704). The Contract Social is the outcome of his *Treatise of Government;* Émile of his *Thoughts Concerning Education. The Essay in the Human Understanding* is the chief source of French philosophy, and his *Letters on Toleration* aided the work of Voltaire. In his *Civil Government* he maintains that "there remains in the people a supreme power to remove or alter the legislature."

(4) THE BANKRUPTCY OF FRANCE

The yearly deficit owed its origin to the wars of Louis XIV. It grew under Louis XV (1715–1774), who only raised fresh loans ("After us the deluge," Madame de Pompadour used to remark).

From the accession of Louis XVI to the outbreak of the Revolution (1774–1789) feeble efforts were made at reform. Among the Ministers of Finance were Turgot (1774–1776); Necker (1778–1781 and 1788–1790), who published his *Compte Rendu;* Calonne (1783–1787), a favorite of Marie Antoinette, and Brienne (1787–1788).

The causes of failure were: (i) Refusal of the privileged classes to surrender their privileges without a struggle. (ii) The aid given by France to the Americans (1778), which (*a*) Rendered bankruptcy inevitable, (*b*) Encouraged revolutionary ideas in France.

Louis, accepting the proposal of Lafayette, summoned a meeting of the States-General. "The foundations of authority were completely sapped. . . . A great famine

occurring at a time of great political excitement strengthened the elements of disorder. The edifice of government tottered and fell, and all Europe resounded with its fall."

XXIII THE STAGES OF THE REVOLUTION

The Revolution passed by three stages to a democratic republic, and by three stages back to absolute monarchy.

(1) The States-General and the Constituent Assembly (1789–1791).
(2) The Legislative Assembly (1791–1792).
(3) The National Convention (1792–1795).
(4) The Directory (1795–1799).
(5) The Consulate (1799–1804).
(6) The Empire (1804–1814).

(1) THE STATES-GENERAL AND THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY (1789–1791)

1789 — **Meeting of the States-General at Versailles.** — Nobles (300), Clergy (300), and the Third Estate (600). The Third Estate refuses to vote as an Estate, and, on the motion of the Abbé Sieyès (author of *What is the Third Estate?*), declares itself the National Assembly. By the Oath of the Tennis Court the members bound themselves not to separate until they had obtained a constitution.

— At the request of the King the representatives of the clergy and nobility join the Third Estate, and hence the Assembly is known as —

The Constituent Assembly, the dominating personality of which was **Mirabeau** (1749–1791), who realized that the privileged orders were doomed, and aimed at the foundation of a

democratic monarchy. In May, 1790, he became the secret adviser of Louis (fifty-one letters), whom he urged to insist on a strong executive, even at the cost of a civil war. He was "an adventurer of genius in a dissolving society." "I carry in my heart," he said, "the death dirge of the monarchy."

— *The Storm of the Bastille* (which contained only seven prisoners) marks: (i) The beginning of the violence which culminated in the Reign of Terror. (ii) The Jacqueries of the peasants, especially in the East.

— Voluntary surrender by the representatives of the nobles of all feudal rights (August 4th).

— **Declaration of the Rights of Man.** — Most important clauses: (i) All men are born and exist both free and equal as regards their rights. (ii) The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. (iii) Law must be the same for all. All citizens, being equal in its eyes, are equally admissible to all honors and posts in the public employ. (iv) No person ought to be molested for his opinions, even with regard to religion. (v) Free communication of thought and opinions is one of the most precious rights of man.

— After the March of the Women to Versailles the royal family *and the Assembly* are forced to go to Paris.

Note the influence of:

(*a*) Newspapers, e.g. Marat's *Friend of the People.*

(*b*) Clubs, where "anarchy organized itself," e.g.: (i) The Jacobins, with branches all over France. (ii) The Cordeliers (the extremists of Paris), e.g. Camille Desmoulins, Danton, Hébert.

— **Conflict between the Revolution and the Church,** caused by:

(i) The Nationalization of Church Lands — the only available wealth easy to obtain.

(ii) The abolition of tithes.

1790 — (iii) The Civil Constitution of the clergy: Clergy (*a*) to be elected by the people (bishops by the electors of the departments, priests by the administrative assembly of the districts), (*b*) to be paid by the State.

Only one-third of the clergy took the required oath of allegiance to the Civil Constitution. The non-juring clergy were regarded as traitors. The parish priests, who before had favored the Revolution, turned against it. The result was the downfall of the monarchy and civil war at the moment of foreign invasion.

— *Democratic Monarchical Constitution:*

(i) *One* Chamber, elected for two years by indirect method by "active citizens" — those paying tax equal to value of three days' labor. (Note that this was a step *away* from Democracy.)

(ii) The King had a "suspensive veto."

(iii) The King had the executive power, **but:** (*a*) His ministers could not sit in the Assembly. (*b*) He had no control of the army. (*c*) He had no control over local government.

(iv) France divided into departments, which were subdivided into districts and communes. The communes (44,000) collected taxes and controlled troops, so that "public order depended on the concurrence of more than 40,000 independent bodies."

1791 — *Death of Mirabeau*, the one strong man of the Revolution.
— The flight to Varennes.
— Dissolution of the Assembly after it had voted that none of its members should be eligible for re-election.

(2) THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY (1791–1792)

1791 — The Meeting of Pillnitz.
— A Girondist Ministry (moderate republicans) favored war as a means of propaganda.
1792 — **The Revolutionary War Begins.** — Note its influence on the course of the Revolution.
— The Austrians and Prussians invade France. The Manifesto of Brunswick seals the fate of the monarchy. The Massacre of the Swiss.
— Fall of Longwy — the September Massacres.
— **VALMY** — The Revolution is saved.

(3) THE NATIONAL CONVENTION (1792–1795)

Composed entirely of Republicans:

(i) **The Girondists,** now the party of moderation, led by Brissot, Roland, Vergniaud, and Condorcet (1743–1794) who afterwards, in hiding, wrote the *Progress of the Human Mind.*

(ii) **The Jacobins** (the Mountain), literal disciples of Rousseau, led by Robespierre, Marat, Danton, Carrier, Tallien.

(iii) **The Plain** — voted according to expediency.

1792 — France declared a Republic.
The Marseillaise by Rouget de Lisle.
Decree of November 19th, offering French assistance to all peoples who wished to recover their liberty.

1793 — **Execution of Louis XVI,** caused mainly by the belief (since proved) that Louis had brought the invader into the country.

— *Life and Death Struggle between the Girondists and the Mountain.* — The Gironde were without (*a*) party organization, (*b*) common policy, (*c*) popular support, (*d*) strong leadership. They voted for the King's death against their will, and the Jacobins, taking advantage of the situation on the frontiers forced on them a series of revolutionary measures.

— Revolt in La Vendée and evacuation of the Netherlands by France. Hence:

— **The Committee of Public Safety,** of nine (afterwards twelve) members, led by Danton and then Robespierre. For the first time during the Revolution a real executive was created.

— The Commune of Paris brings about the *Fall of the Gironde.*

1793–1794 — **The Reign of Terror.** — The chief personality on the Committee of Public Safety became Robespierre, who had advocated the execution of Louis as a political necessity, and wished to put into practice the ideas of the Social Contract.

(i) The Great Committee of Public Safety in Paris:

(*a*) Reorganization, e.g. *Carnot* — Levée en masse; commands given to men of the people, e.g. Massena, Moreau, Murat.

(*b*) Bloodshed, to strike terror into the hearts of domestic foes.

(ii) Provinces. Establishment of a local revolutionary system, with a committee of twelve, a club, and a Tribunal.

1793 — Allies captured Valenciennes and Toulon. The

Law of the Suspect. Execution of Marie Antionette and of the Girondists.

1794 — Execution of: (i) The leaders of the Paris Commune, e.g. Hébert, Chaumette. (ii) The moderate Dantonists, e.g. Danton, Camille Desmoulins.

— The Fête of the Supreme Being marks the height of the power of Robespierre.

— The Law of 22 Prairial — juries to convict without hearing evidence.

— *Fleurus* ends the fear of invasion, and hence the need for the terror.

— *The Ninth of Thermidor.* — Conspiracy of the Mountain and the moderates (Tallien, Barras, Legendre, Sieyès, Fouché) brings about the execution of Robespierre, Couthon, St. Just, and about a hundred others.

The total number of victims of the Terror all over France is probably at least 20,000. In Paris, between April 6, 1793, and July 27 (9th Thermidor), 1794, the Revolutionary Tribunal put to death 2,625 persons. "The victories of the Republic were won not because but in spite of the Terror," and Carnot and others tolerated the Terror in order to remain in office.

— *The National Convention controlled by the moderate Thermidorians.* Power of the Commune, of the Jacobins, and of the mob gradually broken. Law of the Forty Sous and the Law of the Maximum abolished. Return of surviving Girondists to the Convention. Execution of Carrier (the Butcher of Nantes).

1795 — Foundation of the Batavian Republic.

— *Peace of Basle* with: (i) Prussia, Saxony, Hanover, and Hesse-Cassel. (ii) Spain.
Conclusion of the War of the Vendée.

(4) THE DIRECTORY (1795–1799)

Established by **The Constitution of the Year III.**

(i) Executive power was vested in a Directory of five.
(ii) Legislature was to consist of two chambers, chosen by indirect election: (*a*) Council of Five Hundred. (*b*) Council of Ancients (250).
(iii) The Local Administration of 1791 was only slightly modified, but agents, nominated by the executive, brought the departments under the control of the central power.

The last mob-riot in Paris — the Insurrection of 13 Vendémiaire — was ended by Bonaparte's "whiff of grapeshot," and the new Constitution was put into force.

The establishment of the Directory — in spite of the fact that the five Directors were all regicides — was accepted by Europe as the close of revolutionary disorder. Their attempt to substitute a constitutional for a revolutionary government, however, was a failure. The government was corrupt, and Carnot was the only man of genius.

War was a necessity to the Directory. There took place: (i) Bonaparte's campaign in Italy against Austria, ending with the Peace of Campo Formio (1797). (ii) Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition (1798–1799). (iii) The disastrous beginning of the War of the Second Coalition (1799).

The Causes of the Unpopularity of the Directory included:

(i) *The desperate state of finance* and the decline of trade, owing to the depreciation of the assignats, etc.
(ii) *Weak administration*, e.g. taxes unpaid, decrees feebly executed.
(iii) *Continued persecution of the clergy.*
(iv) *French defeats by the Second Coalition.*

Finally, there took place the **Coup d'état of 18 Brumaire** (November 9th). Bonaparte, returning from Egypt, in alliance with the directors Sieyès and Roger-Ducos, and his brother Lucien Bonaparte, President of the Council of Five Hundred, overthrew the directors, and on the next day broke up the Council of Five Hundred.

(5) THE CONSULATE (1799–1804)

was initiated by the **Constitution of the Year VIII,** devised by Sieyès, revised by Bonaparte, and accepted by a plebiscite.

(i) Three Consuls were to hold office for ten years — Napoleon Bonaparte, First Consul, appointed two others who had consultative voices only (Cambacérès, a regicide, and Lebrun, an old official of Louis XVI).

(ii) The legislative power was vested in: (*a*) The Council of State (who prepared laws). (*b*) The Tribunate (who discussed the proposals of the government without voting). (*c*) The Legislative Chamber (who voted "Yes" or "No" without discussion).

(iii) A Senate consisted of eighty persons, chosen for life.

(iv) In each "Communal District" the electors chose the "Communal List" (one-tenth of their number); those on the "Communal List" chose the Departmental List" (one-tenth of "Communal List"); and those on the "Departmental List" chose the "National List." From these three lists respectively were selected the officials of the districts, of the departments, of the State. From the "National List" the Senate selected the deputies of the Tribunate and the Legislative Chamber.

(v) The Consuls were to choose the ministers, the Council of State and the Senate.

(vi) Complete centralization was established — each Department under a Prefect; each District under a Sub-Prefect; each Commune under a Mayor — all nominated by the supreme executive.

The constitution preserved the appearance of a republic, but in reality established a military despotism. Bonaparte was "neither royalist nor republican; he meant that there should be but one party in France — his own." After the Treaty of Amiens he caused himself by a plebiscite to be elected Consul for life, and drew up the Constitution of the Year X (1802), which strengthened his powers.

(6) THE EMPIRE (1804–1814, and 1815)

Bonaparte's assumption of the title of Emperor was ratified by a plebiscite. Napoleon was consecrated at Paris by Pius VII, and placed the crown upon his own head.

By the Constitution of the Year XII Senators were no longer limited in number and were nominated by the Emperor. The Tribunate gradually vanished (1807). Napoleon governed by "laws" sent straight to the Senate for ratification, or by decrees.

XXIV THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

(1792–1802)

(1) CAUSES

A conflict between Revolutionary France and Feudal Europe was inevitable. But the struggle was precipitated by the war policy of the Gironde, who wished: (*a*) to force the king's hand, (*b*) to establish their own authority.

The Immediate Causes were: (i) *The Declaration of Pillnitz* (1791) by Austria and Prussia after the Flight of Louis to Varennes. Later, when Louis accepted the Constitution, the Declaration was withdrawn. (ii) *Protection given to the Émigrés* by the Electors of Treves and Mainz — afterwards withdrawn. (iii) *Notes of Kaunitz* demanding a French government capable of affording the powers of Europe security against the spread of democratic agitation.

The answer of the Assembly was to declare war on Austria and Prussia. Thus began the wars which were destined to carry the ideas of the Revolution over Europe.

(2) THE FIRST COALITION (1792–1799)

1792 — **The Cannonade of Valmy** saves the Revolution (not Revolutionary troops, but the old Royal army). A war of self-preservation passes into a war of conquest and a crusade of liberty.
— Annexation of Nice and Savoy.
1793 — France declares war on England, Holland, and Spain.
— French disasters: (i) The Insurrection of the Vendée. (i) Fall of Mainz and Valenciennes.
— The Committee of Public Safety. Carnot "organizes victory."
— French successes: (i) English evacuate Toulon. (ii) The defeat of the Vendée.
1794 — (iii) Austria evacuates the Netherlands. End of Reign of Terror.
1795 — (iv) The Batavian Republic established.
— *Treaties of Basle* with (*a*) Prussia, (*b*) Spain. Austria and England continue the war.
1796 — *Brilliant campaign of Bonaparte in Italy.* Sardinia, by a separate peace, cedes Nice and Savoy.

1797 — Austrians surrender Mantua.
— Proclamation of the Cisalpine Republic and of the Ligurian Republic.
— **Peace of Campo Formio** between France and Austria (i) Austria ceded Austrian Netherlands. (ii) Recognized the Cisalpine Republic (thus ceding Lombardy). (iii) Took the City of Venice, with Istria and Dalmatia, and the Venetian mainland east of the Adige. (iv) Agreed to the cession of the left bank of the Rhine from Basle to Andernach, including Mainz, to France.

1798 — Proclamation of the Roman Republic.
— Helvetian Republic established.
— England now stands alone, protected by sea-power (St. Vincent and Camperdown, 1797). Hence, the Directory, hoping to found a colonial empire and to strike at English trade, and thankful to get rid of one whom they had begun to fear, consent to —

1798–1799 — *Bonaparte's Egyptian Expedition.* Nelson's victory of the Nile made the French hold on Egypt impossible. (Their army was transported to France by English fleet, 1801.)

(3) THE SECOND COALITION (1799–1801)

consisted of England, Austria, Russia, Turkey, Portugal, and Naples.

1799 — Russia withdrew from the war.

1800 — Double campaign against Austria: (i) in Italy — Napoleon won Marengo. (ii) In Upper Germany — Moreau won Hohenlinden.

1801 — **Peace of Lunéville.** (i) Cession of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany (which became Kingdom of Etruria). (ii) The Empire consented to the cession of the left bank of the Rhine to France

(Princes who lost by this to receive indemnification in Germany). (iii) Spain ceded Louisiana to France (who sold it to U.S.A., 1803).

1802 — **Peace of Amiens** between England and France — really only a truce.

XXV FRANCE UNDER NAPOLEON

(1799–1814)

Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) was born at Ajaccio. Pupil at Brienne (1779) and at the military school at Paris (1784). At siege of Toulon (1792). " Whiff of Grapeshot " (1795). Appointed to Italian Command (1796) — " Do you think that I triumph in Italy to make the greatness of the lawyers of the Directory? " Failed to take Acre, " that miserable hole which came between me and my destiny " (1799). First Consul (1799). Emperor (1804). Abdicated at Fontainebleau, and sent to Elba (1814). Surrendered to the *Bellerophon*, and sent to St. Helena 1815.

Napoleon was a child of the French Revolution. " Nothing," he said, " has been simpler than my elevation. It is owing to the peculiarity of the times. I have always marched with the opinion of great masses and with events." His conquering armies carried the Revolution over Europe, and he consolidated the Revolution in France.

" He was as great as a man can be without virtue " (De Tocqueville). " What a pity that so great a man has been so badly brought up " (Talleyrand).

(1) FRANCE

The work of Napoleon was the reconstruction of France. His aim was to reconcile the old France with the new. " From the civil and economic point of view he

confirmed the work of the Revolution . . . from the political point of view he revived the arbitrary traditions of the old monarchy."

Among his ministers were **Talleyrand** (1799–1807, Foreign Affairs), Gaudin (1799–1814, Finances), Berthier (1799–1807, War), Fouché (1799–1802 and 1804–1810, police).

The policy of Napoleon was marked by:

(i) GOVERNMENT ON A BROAD BASIS

All, whether Jacobins, Girondists, or Royalists, were to receive the shelter of equal laws.

(*a*) **Amnesty to all Émigrés** (except 1,000) who returned before September 23, 1802.

(*b*) **Confirmation of the Revolutionary Land Settlement,** so that every peasant came to regard Napoleon as his protector.

(*c*) **The Concordat** (1801) healed the breach in the French Church which had lasted since 1790.

(i) No restoration of confiscated Church lands.
(ii) Liberty of conscience recognized.
(iii) Patronage of parish livings given to bishops.
(iv) Government to nominate bishops, and the Pope to institute.
(v) The oath of fidelity to the government taken by the clergy to be in the words of the oath under the ancient regime.
(vi) Roman Catholicism recognized as the religion of the majority of French people.

Results:

(*a*) Immediate — strengthened Napoleon's position.

(*b*) Ultimate — the decay of Gallicanism, and the rise of Ultramontanism in France.

(ii) EFFICIENCY IN ADMINISTRATION

(*a*) **Centralization.** — Napoleon abandoned the system of the National Assembly by which local officials were elected, and reverted to the centralization which had been the cardinal feature of French government ever since the days of Richelieu. He invented a system of prefects and sub-prefects appointed by himself to rule the departments.

(*b*) **The Codes.** — The Civil Code, mainly the work of Portalis and Tronchet, was " based upon the broad historic instincts of the race, while preserving the most valuable conquests of the Revolution." " My glory," he remarked, " consists not in having won forty battles, but in the Civil Code." Codes of Criminal Law, Commercial Law, and Judicial Procedure were also compiled.

(*c*) **Education.** — Napoleon planned a system of state-controlled education. The University of France, founded in 1808, supervised the whole system. By 1814 half the pupils in secondary and higher education were in the State Lycées and colleges. Primary education, however, depended on the wealth of the commune. Napoleon regarded education as a means of propaganda, maintaining that " as long as children are not taught whether they ought to be republican or monarchical, Catholic or irreligious, the State will not form a nation."

(*d*) **Finance.** — No loans were raised, and public expenditure was reduced by strict economy. Bank of France established (1800). Napoleon depended largely on war indemnities, etc.

(*e*) **Commerce** increased, in spite of the Continental System, owing to the economic changes of the French Revolution which encouraged individualism.

(*f*) **Public Works,** e.g. roads, canals.

(iii) EVER-GROWING AMBITION

The conscription under the Consulate produced 210,000 soldiers; under the Empire it reached 2,500,000, not including the levée en masse of 1814. "I can use up 25,000 men a month."

But "the policy of aggression was not the invention of Napoleon, but the bequest of the Revolutionary Government."

(2) THE FRENCH EMPIRE

(*a*) CAUSES

(i) **The state of opinion in many parts of Europe was favorable to the acceptance of French principles.** "All Italy, the northern districts of Germany which were incorporated with the Empire, and a great part of the Confederate Territory of the Rhine, received in the Code Napoléon a law which, to an extent hitherto unknown in Europe, brought social justice into the daily affairs of life."

(ii) **The driving power of the French Revolution.**

(iii) **The political weakness of Germany and Italy.**

(iv) **The genius of Napoleon,** the supreme proof of which "lies in the fact that he harnessed the wild living spirit (of the French Revolution) to his own career."

The price of this Empire was the Conscription, the suppression of liberty, and the Continental blockade.

(*b*) THE EMPIRE IN 1810

Napoleon's Empire at its height stretched from Lübeck to the Ebro, from Brest to Rome.

(i) **France** (including annexed and incorporated provinces) consisted of: all west of Rhine from Basle

to the sea; Nice and Savoy (1792); Kingdom of Holland (ruled by Louis Bonaparte, 1806–1810, and then annexed to France); Ligurian Republic (Genoa, annexed 1805); Piedmont (1802); Etruria (Tuscany, united to France 1809); Rome and the Campagna (1809); Illyria (1809).

(ii) **Dependencies in Germany and Italy.** — Kingdom of Italy (1805, included the Cisalpine Republic, 1797, and Venice, 1805), the Viceroy of which was Eugène de Beauharnais; the Kingdom of Naples, first under Joseph Bonaparte (1806), and then Murat (1808); Switzerland (the Act of Mediation, 1803, replaced the Helvetian Republic by a Confederation of nineteen Cantons).

(iii) **Autonomous States,** bound, under the Articles of the Confederation of the Rhine, to furnish contingents.

The policy of Napoleon was to create buffer states between France and Austria. The reconstruction of Germany after the Treaty of Lunéville (1801) destroyed the old Holy Roman Empire (1806), and the conglomeration of feudal principalities became a collection of powerful states.

The Confederation of the Rhine consisted (after the Treaty of Tilsit) of thirty-two Princes: (1) Four kingdoms — Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, and Westphalia. (2) Five Grand Duchies — Baden, Berg, Hesse-Darmstadt, Frankfort, Würtzburg. (3) Twenty-three Principalities.

(iv) **Districts in North Germany,** from Holland to the mouth of the Weser (occupied to enforce Continental System, 1810).

XXVI THE NAPOLEONIC WAR

(1803–1815)

(1) THE FIRST COALITION (1805)

between England, Russia, Austria, and Sweden.

After Napoleon's victory over the Russians and Austrians at **Austerlitz,** Austria agreed to the *Peace of Pressburg.* (i) Austria ceded to France — Piedmont, Parma, and Piacenza, and all she had received of Venetian territory by the Treaty of Campo Formio, as well as Venetian Istria and Dalmatia. (ii) Austria ceded territory to Bavaria and Würtemberg.

(2) THE WAR WITH PRUSSIA AND RUSSIA (1806–1807)

The defeat of Prussia at Jena (1806) and Russia at Friedland (1807) caused the Tsar Alexander I to sign the **Treaty of Tilsit,** by which, in return for a share in the spoil, he accepted the scheme of Napoleonic conquest.

(i) Russia recognized the Grand Duchy of Warsaw (under Napoleon's vassal, the King of Saxony) and the Confederation of the Rhine.

(ii) By a secret article Russia agreed to an alliance with France against Britain, if the latter refused Russian mediation. If Turkey refused French mediation, France agreed to help Russia to drive the Turks out of Europe (except Roumelia and Constantinople).

(iii) Prussia ceded all lands between the Rhine and the Elbe (made into the Kingdom of Westphalia for Napoleon's brother Jerome).

(iv) Prussia ceded nearly all the territory she had gained by the three partitions of Poland to form the Grand Duchy of Warsaw.

(v) Russia and Prussia accepted the Continental System.

The Treaty of Tilsit marks the height of Napoleon's power. Alexander was dazzled by Napoleon's suggestion that they should found two empires to dominate Europe — Napoleon in the West, and Alexander in the East.

At Erfurt (1808) Alexander agreed to postpone the Eastern question, and the Franco-Russian alliance was continued, though on strained terms. Meanwhile Alexander had seized Finland from Sweden (1808).

(3) THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM

The French people, anxious for the safety of everything that had been won by the Revolution, wished to end the war as quickly as possible. The only way to do this was by the invasion of England. Napoleon's plans, however, came to nothing (autumn of 1803, summer of 1804, and probably the spring and summer of 1805), since he could not obtain command of the sea, and by August 30th he had abandoned "the immense project." Hence, England was *not* saved from invasion by **Trafalgar** (October 21, 1805), the "most momentous victory won either by land or by sea during the whole of the Revolutionary War."

Direct invasion having failed, Napoleon's plan was to try to bring about the economic ruin of England by the so-called **Continental System,** established by: (i) *The Berlin Decree* (1806), which declared the British Isles in a state of blockade, and ordered all English merchandise to be confiscated, as well as all ships which touched at a British port or at a port in the British colonies. (ii) *The Milan Decree* (1807), which declared that any

ship of any country which had touched at a British port was liable to be seized as a prize. (iii) The Trianon Tariff (1810) on *all* colonial imports. (iv) The Fontainebleau Decree (1810).

Great efforts were made by Napoleon to secure command of the European coast-line — Hanover (1806), Prussia, Russia, and Denmark (1807), Austria (1809), Etruria and Papal Legations annexed (1809), Holland annexed (1810), north-west coast of Germany annexed (1810), Sweden (1810). After the Treaty of Tilsit (1807), Napoleon's wars sprang not only from ambition, but from his efforts to enforce the Continental System.

The Weakness of the Continental System.

(i) *The blockade was not universal.*

(ii) *The blockade was not stringently enforced*, owing to: (*a*) Imperial licences for revenue purposes, e.g. corn allowed to be exported to England. (*b*) Corruption of officials.

(iii) *England's wealth did not depend wholly on commerce.* Her colonial and tropical merchandise enabled the Industrial Revolution to produce cheap goods, which were disposed of (*a*) by smuggling them into the Continent, (b) in colonial markets, (*c*) in new markets, e.g. South America.

RESULTS

The determination of Napoleon to enforce the Continental System was the chief cause of his downfall, since it caused:

(i) *The Peninsular War* (1808–1814).

(ii) *The Invasion of Russia* (1812).

(iii) *General discontent*, owing to the decay of trade and the rise of prices. Europe had to exist on its own resources, or buy through English merchants at high prices.

The year of crisis in England was 1811, owing to: (i) Interruption of trade with U.S.A. (ii) Poor harvests of 1809 and 1810. (iii) Increasing stringency of Napoleon's decrees. (iv) French control of the Baltic (1810–1811). Trade at a standstill; Luddite riots; depreciation of paper currency. Relief came at the end of the year, when the Tsar abandoned the Continental System.

Napoleon's "economic ideas were those of the crudest section of the old Mercantile School. He believed that a nation's commercial wealth consisted essentially in its exports, while imports were to be jealously restricted, because they drew bullion away. Destroy Britain's exports, and allow her to import whatever his own lands could spare, and she would bleed to death" (Holland Rose).

(4) THE PENINSULAR WAR (1808–1814)

Caused by:

(i) *The Refusal of Portugal to accept the Continental System.* In the end, Portugal consented to close her ports to English commerce, but refused to sequestrate British merchandise.

(ii) *The personal ambition of Napoleon*, who wished to extend his dominion over Spain.

After the Treaty of Fontainebleau (1807) between France and Spain for the partition of Portugal, French troops occupied that country. Ferdinand, whom an insurrection had placed on the throne of Spain in place of his father, Charles IV, was enticed to Bayonne, where he and his father were forced to abdicate the crown in favor of Napoleon.

The result was a great rising of the Spaniards. For the first time Napoleon had to deal not with governments and armies, but with the force of nationality, and with a

nation to whom the spirit of the French Revolution meant nothing.

RESULTS

(i) *Encouraged resistance to Napoleon.* "I do not see," said Blücher, "why we should not think ourselves as good as the Spaniards."

(ii) *Saved Prussia from virtual extinction.*

(iii) *Saved the Turkish Empire from partition.*

(iv) *Gave Britain a chance to strike at Napoleon on land.* Wellington's army, with its base in Portugal, and supported by sea-power; the guerilla warfare of the Spaniards against the hated foreigner; the configuration of Spain — all contributed to what Napoleon afterwards called the "Spanish ulcer."

(5) THE WAR WITH AUSTRIA (1809)

The overthrow of Prussia and the Franco-Russian alliance had isolated Austria. Hence, while Napoleon was hampered in Spain, she made a premature attack.

After Napoleon's victory at Wagram the war was ended by the *Treaty of Vienna.*

(i) Bavaria received Salzburg with part of Upper Austria.

(ii) The Duchy of Warsaw received West Galicia.

(iii) Part of Carinthia, with the country between the Adriatic and the Save, went to Napoleon, and became the Illyrian Provinces.

(iv) Russia received the district of Tarnopol (in East Galicia).

(v) Austria accepted the Continental System.

Napoleon married Marie Louise (1810). Henceforward the policy of Austria, guided by Metternich, was one of acquiescence in the supremacy of France and of calculation.

(6) THE INVASION OF RUSSIA (1812)

Causes :

(i) *Napoleon*, instead of restoring the Empires of the East and West, *talked of thrusting Russia into Asia*, and the Spanish revolt had deferred the promised partition of Turkey.

(ii) *The addition of West Galicia to the Duchy of Warsaw* by the Peace of Vienna caused Alexander anxiety lest the restoration of Poland should be contemplated.

(iii) *Rejection by Alexander of the Continental System*, which ruined Russian commerce (1810).

(iv) *Napoleon's annexation of Oldenburg* (1810), whose ruler was a member of the Tsar's family.

Alexander prepared for the struggle by :

(i) The Secret Treaty of Abo with Bernadotte of Sweden (1812), who was to seize Norway from Denmark as compensation for Russia's seizure of Finland after her arrangement with Napoleon at Tilsit.

(ii) The conclusion of peace with the Turks by the Treaty of Bucharest (1812), by which Russia contented herself with Bessarabia.

The total strength of the Grand Army was 680,000 men. The French numbered less than half of these, and the remainder consisted of Italians, Swiss, Dutch, Poles, and Germans of the Confederation of the Rhine. There were separate armies of Austrians and Prussians on the left and right wings.

Napoleon's original plan was to devote two years to the campaign, but he hoped for a big victory on the frontier and a quick peace. The size of his army, which caused the Russians to avoid a decisive engagement, proved his undoing.

Crossing the Niemen (June), Napoleon passed through Wilna and Smolensk, and after the Battle of Borodino, occupied Moscow (September 14th to October 19th). *Not* the fire but the depopulation of the city was the cause of disaster. He was forced to retreat (October 19th to November 28th) *by the same road* by which he had come. Snow fell on November 6th, but before any snow or severe weather the French army was reduced to 55,000. Only 20,000 fugitives made the passage of the Beresina.

The Causes of Disaster included:

(i) *The vast expanses of Russia.*
(ii) *Difficulties of commissariat.*
(iii) *Fabian tactics of the Russians.*
(iv) *Napoleon's mistake of regarding Moscow as the key to the conquest of Russia* (e.g. as Vienna of Austria).
(v) *Strategic blunders of Napoleon*, who tried, in the end, to accomplish in one year a campaign which required two years at least.

(7) THE WAR OF LIBERATION (1813–1814)

The years of humiliation after Jena had brought about **The rise of the national spirit in Prussia.**

(i) *The Social System.* — Reforms of Stein (1807–1808, until outlawed by Napoleon) and Hardenberg (1810). (*a*) Abolition of serfdom. (*b*) Feudal lands became freehold. (*c*) Free trade in land allowed. (*d*) Scheme of municipal self-government. (*e*) Abrogation of guild privileges.
(ii) *The Army* — reorganized on the basis of universal military service, with short service system to deceive Napoleon (the work of Scharnhorst).
(iii) *Education* — measures of Von Humboldt.

(iv) *Literature.* — Fichte (*Address to the German Nation*) and Schiller were converted "from academic exponents of anti-patriotism into apostles of the new spirit of nationality."

The Alliance of Kalish (1813) between Russia and Prussia was followed by indecisive French victories at Lützen and Bautzen, and the Armistice of Pleswitz (one of Napoleon's blunders), and both parties strove to secure the alliance of Austria.

As early as September 1810 Metternich had foreseen that the impending conflict between France and Russia would "ensure a decisive importance for Austria's opinions." Since Napoleon would not surrender to her the Illyrian Provinces or the districts of North Germany annexed in 1810, Austria signed with the allies the *Treaty of Reichenbach* (1813).

There followed the decisive victory of **Leipzig,** the "Battle of the Nations" (1813). A fortnight later the French had crossed the Rhine.

Next year saw the invasion of France by the Austrians, Russians, and Prussians. The material resources and the military strength of France were exhausted, and in spite of a brilliant defensive campaign by Napoleon the allies entered Paris. The Senate, through the influence of Talleyrand, declared that Napoleon and his family had forfeited the throne. By the **First Treaty of Paris** (1814) France received the boundaries of 1792 (with slight modifications) and paid no war indemnity.

Napoleon was banished to Elba. The exile Louis XVIII, on accepting the Constitution drawn up by the Senate, was recalled to the throne of France.

(8) THE HUNDRED DAYS (1815)

An epilogue to the Wars of the Revolution.

Causes:

(i) *The unpopularity of the Bourbons*, who had "learned nothing and forgotten nothing," and seemed to be imposed on France by foreign armies.
(ii) *The devotion of the army to Napoleon.*
(iii) *The alarm of the peasantry*, who feared that the revolutionary land settlement was in danger.

Napoleon lost *Waterloo* because, like Grouchy, he failed to foresee Blücher's flank march. Even had he won, there were still the Austrians and Russians to be dealt with, for which task his army was too small.

By the **Second Treaty of Paris** (1815):

(i) Boundaries of France to be those of 1790.
(ii) France to pay an indemnity, and to be occupied by the allies for five years (troops withdrawn 1818).

(9) THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA (1814–1815)

The Congress was acclaimed as the beginning of "the reconstruction of the moral order," and "the regeneration of the political system of Europe." The true object, however, was "to divide among the conquerors the spoils of the conquered." The four great powers — Austria (represented by *Metternich*), Russia (Alexander I), Prussia (Hardenberg and Humboldt), and England (Castlereagh and Wellington) — imposed their will on the smaller states just as Napoleon had done.

The Policy of the Congress was based on the doctrine of "*Legitimacy*" (i.e. the restoration of property to its pre-revolutionary rulers), advocated by Talleyrand, who used the quarrels of the allies as a means of raising France once more in the eyes of Europe. Sometimes, however, the allies found it convenient to forget this principle:

(i) "Buffer States," e.g. the Netherlands and Sardinia, were established against France.

(ii) It was necessary to reward the victors — Russia, Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain.

(iii) Ecclesiastical states, very small states, and republics received unfavorable treatment.

An inevitable result of this policy was the "abnegation of nationality," e.g. Venetia–Lombardy given to Austria, Finland to Russia, Belgium united to Holland.

TERMS

(i) *Austria* recovered Milan and received Venice, the Illyrian Provinces, Salzburg, the Tyrol, and Galicia.

(ii) *Prussia* received part of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw (Posen), with Danzig, Swedish Hither Pomerania with Rügen (in return for Lauenburg, which was ceded to Denmark), its old possessions in Westphalia, somewhat enlarged, as well as Neuchâtel and the Grand Duchy of the Lower Rhine, and the greater part of Saxony.

(iii) *Formation of a Kingdom of the Netherlands* (the former republic of Holland and the Austrian Netherlands).

(iv) *Creation of a German Confederation* — the Bund (to take the place of the Holy Roman Empire), consisting of thirty-eight states in addition to Austria and Prussia, each state being independent, but "united in a federal union." The Diet of the Confederation was to be presided over by Austria.

(v) *Russia* received the greater part of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw as the Kingdom of Poland. Cracow became a free city.

(vi) *Sweden* retained Norway (which Denmark had ceded to her by the Peace of Kiel, 1814).

(vii) *Denmark* received Schleswig-Holstein.

(viii) *Switzerland* was declared independent (the nineteen cantons being increased to twenty-two).

(ix) *The old dynasties were restored* in Spain, Sardinia (which received Genoa), Tuscany, Modena, the Papal States, and (after 1815) Naples.

(x) *Great Britain* retained Malta, Heligoland, Ceylon, Cape Colony, and Demerara.

XXVII THE RESULTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

"That great revolution in art and thought and life, of which the political and social revolution is one form, and of which we are all the children."

(1) "SWEPT AWAY MUCH USELESS MEDIEVAL LUMBER,

particularly in Germany and Italy, and so rendered the reconstruction of Europe on new lines possible."

(2) ESTABLISHED THE PRINCIPLE OF NATIONALITY

The feeling of patriotism inspired the revolutionary armies and the soldiers of Napoleon to overthrow Europe in arms. It was the force of nationality which Napoleon encountered in Spain, which defeated him in Russia, which created the Prussian army in 1813.

At the Congress of Vienna nationality was ignored, but the history of Europe since 1815 is a history of the growth of nationality. States were no longer districts subject to a certain authority, but nations bound together by ties of blood, language, and aspirations.

Nationalism, says Morley, "from instinct became idea; from idea, abstract principle; then fervid prepossession; ending where it is to-day, in dogma, whether accepted or evaded."

Acton, however, maintains that " the theory of nationality is a retrograde step in history."

(3) THE PRINCIPLE OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE

An improvement on the system of Enlightened Despotism, which perished with the despot. " The ideas of social, legal, and ecclesiastical reform which were realized in 1789 were not peculiar to France; what was peculiar to France was that these reforms were to be effected by the nation itself."

(4) THE PRINCIPLE OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY,

which gave a mortal blow to Feudalism, and meant the disappearance of serfdom and the abolition of social privileges — the recognition of the legal equality of all.

(5) IMPETUS TO HUMANITARIANISM

E.g. the abolition of slavery (begun by the French in their colonies), prison reform, emancipation of Jews, growth of religious toleration, growth of national education, freedom of speech and of the press, etc.

(6) IMPETUS TO THE ROMANTIC REVIVAL

The Romantic Revival, or the Romantic Revolt, began to make itself felt about the middle of the eighteenth century — say, from 1770, the year of the birth of Wordsworth, Hegel, and Beethoven.

The Romantic Revival reached its height in England with Wordsworth (e.g. *The Prelude*), Shelley (e.g. *The Mask of Anarchy*), Byron (*Childe Harold*), Keats and Scott. In Germany we have **Goethe** (1749–1832), in whose *Faust* the Revolution reached its highest expression, and Schiller (1759–1805). In France the great figure is Victor Hugo (1802–1885) with his *Légende des Siècles* and *Les Misérables*. Balzac is a link between Romanticism and Realism.

"We cannot doubt, though we cannot prove, that as with the Greeks of the fifth century B.C., as with the artists and men of science of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D., so at the end of the eighteenth century there was a real and intimate connection between all these creative acts in science, literature, music, and liberty."

PART V

THE AGE OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION (1815–1919)

The Modern Age is marked by:

(1) The triumph of the Principles of the French Revolution — Democracy and Nationality.
(2) The Growth of Scientific Knowledge.
(3) The Industrial Revolution.

(1) DEMOCRACY AND NATIONALITY

After 1815 we find in the states of Europe two parties:

(*a*) *The Party of Absolutism*, which advocated "divine right" — that the King alone has all the authority — and consisted of nobles, officials, clergy, and peasants. Their dominant idea was respect for law and order, and hence they advocated (i) the union of Church and State, (ii) the Censorship of the Press.

(*b*) *The Party of Liberalism*, which advocated the principle of the sovereignty of the nation, and consisted of citizens, working men, and the intellectuals. They advocated constitutional government on the lines of the English Parliamentary System, and demanded "progress," Liberty of the Press, and Liberty of Speech.

Gradually, during the nineteenth century, the principles of the French Revolution began to prevail.

(i) **France.** — After the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 and the Second Empire (1852–1870), the Third Republic was established.

(ii) **Germany.** — Under the leadership of Prussia the states of Germany consolidated into the German Empire (proclaimed 1871). After the World War (1914–1918) a Republic was set up.

(iii) **Italy.** — After a long struggle against the Austrians, the Italians established the Kingdom of Italy (1861).

(iv) **Holland and Belgium,** although united in 1815, were divided by race, religion, and economic interests, and became separate kingdoms (1831).

(v) **Norway and Sweden,** united in 1815, became separate kingdoms (1905).

(vi) **The Balkan States,** starting with the liberation of Greece (1829), gradually gained their freedom from the Turks.

(vii) **The Austrian Empire** became the Dual Monarchy of Austro-Hungary (1867), which after the World War (1914–1918) broke up into a number of Republics — German Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, and Jugo-Slavia.

(viii) **Russia.** — The autocratic bureaucracy of Tsardom and the World War (1914–1918) brought about the Russian Revolution (1917), the establishment of four independent Republics in the Baltic — Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, and Finland — and the restoration of Poland.

(2) MODERN SCIENCE

has resulted in the mechanical revolution of the steam-engine and the dynamo, which determined the development of the Industrial Revolution. Atlantic liners and Wireless Telegraphy have brought about the contraction of the world, so that ideas are now cosmopolitan. The

development of medicine, surgery, and sanitation has resulted in the prolongation of life, though at the same time scientific research has also meant unlimited powers of destruction, since " man's mechanical genius has outstripped his moral powers." (*See* Chap. XXXIV.)

(3) THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

has led to the development of the Capitalist System. (*See* Chap. XXXIII.)

XXVIII THE NAPOLEONIC LEGEND (1815–1914)

(1) THE REACTION (1815–1830)

Louis XVIII (1814–1824) left intact the centralized administrative system of Napoleon. All public service, the finances, the judiciary, the government, the police, the division into departments, the secularization of Church property, the abolition of primogeniture, and civil equality remained what the Revolution had made them.

A statement of the permanent results of the Revolution was furnished by **The Charter of 1814,** which, although somewhat modified in 1830, was maintained until 1848.

(i) Laws were to be made by the King in co-operation with a House of Peers (designated by the King) and the Chamber of Deputies (elected).
(ii) The executive power was placed in the hands of the King, who nominated and dismissed ministers and dissolved the Chamber.
(iii) All Frenchmen were declared equal before the law, and equally eligible to all offices.
(iv) Personal and religious liberty was ensured.

Hence, under absolutist forms, constitutional government was established. In practice the Charter meant the triumph of the Middle Classes:

(*a*) Wealth (as in England) was made the basis of the franchise. From 1814–1830 there were 110,000 electors in a population of 30,000,000.

(*b*) Each paper had to bear a stamp of 5 centimes.

On the accession of Charles X (1824–1830) the policy of reaction became more pronounced: (*a*) A bill was passed to indemnify the nobility for the property they had lost during the Revolution. (*b*) By the Ordinances the King restricted the franchise and suppressed the freedom of the Press.

Hence, the Republican Party in Paris, composed of workmen and students, brought about —

(2) THE JULY REVOLUTION (1830),

which freed France from the Metternich System, and put on the throne *Louis Philippe* (1830–1848), a "bourgeoisie King," whose aim was to maintain the rule of the middle classes.

The Government of Guizot (1840–1848) entered on a policy of: (*a*) Resistance to all change at home. (*b*) Alliance with the legitimist powers abroad, e.g. encouraged the reactionary cause in Switzerland (War of the Sonderbund, 1847).

Causes of Unpopularity:

(i) *The Industrial Revolution*, which gave birth to an industrial proletariat and the beginnings of Socialism.

(ii) *The indifference to politics of the middle classes*, who were busy amassing wealth.

(iii) *Political discontent* of those excluded by the franchise.

(iv) *The Growth of the Napoleonic Legend* (Napoleon at St. Helena posed as the champion of ordered freedom), which showed up the commonplaceness of the times, e.g. the writings of Victor Hugo and Béranger; the paintings of Charlet and Raffet; the history of Thiers. "The harsh features of the Napoleonic despotism were forgotten. Men thought of Napoleon as the soldier of the Revolution, as the misunderstood idealist whose liberal plans for France and Europe were shattered by a cruel destiny."

(3) THE "FEBRUARY REVOLUTION" OF 1848

The February Revolution (anticipated by the victory of Liberalism in Switzerland, 1847, and the granting of a constitution to Piedmont) gave the signal for revolutionary movements throughout Europe — Spain, Belgium, Germany, Italy, Hungary, Austria, Ireland.

In Paris a Provisional Government was established: (i) The Moderates, led by Lamartine, wanted a democratic republic. (ii) The Socialists, led by Louis Blanc and Albert, wanted a democratic and social republic, with the organization of labor by the State. The theory of the "Right to Work" led to the establishment of national workshops.

On the basis of universal suffrage was elected a Constituent Assembly, consisting of a majority of moderate republicans, and hence:

(i) The abolition of the national workshops, and the defeat of the Socialist insurrection which followed.

(ii) The Constitution of 1848: (*a*) The Legislature consisted of a single assembly elected by direct suffrage for four years, which alone voted the laws and could not be dissolved. (*b*) The executive power was vested in a President, elected for four years. The President chose the ministers, who were not responsible.

By a plebiscite Louis Napoleon (nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte) was elected President.

By the **Coup d'état of 1851** Napoleon crushed the Republicans and Orleanists, and by a plebiscite got himself elected President for ten years. He then decreed the *Constitution of* 1851 (an imitation of the Constitution of the Year VIII).

(i) Legislative Power was vested in: (*a*) Council of State (appointed by the President), which prepared laws. (*b*) A Legislative Assembly (elected by universal suffrage), which discussed and voted.

(ii) The executive power was vested in the President, who appointed ministers, declared war and peace, and was only responsible to the people. Ministers could not be deputies, and were not responsible to the Chamber.

(iii) A Senate (appointed by the President).

In 1852 the Second Empire was established, and Napoleon III was elected Emperor by a plebiscite. "Memories of the Napoleonic Legend, dreams of a glorious future, the fear of communism and of a clerical propaganda, had deceived the mind of the people, and in consequence the Republic obtained a master."

(4) THE SECOND EMPIRE (1852–1870)

inaugurated a new era of "constitutional plebiscites and disguised absolutism," which can be divided into two periods:

(*a*) **The Absolutist Empire** (1852–1867), during which those principles of 1848 which Napoleon had preserved became a mere sham, e.g. Legislation (Legislative body could not propose a law or an amendment); Universal Suffrage (controlled by

means of official candidates and the adjustment of electoral districts); Censorship of the Press; Supervision of Education; Illegality of Trade Unions.

During this period the Empire was successful, since it brought about the suppression of anarchy, the "glory" of the Crimean War, and material prosperity by the expansion of industry.

(*b*) **The Liberal Empire** (1867–1870), during which a return was gradually made to political liberty — parliamentary government, partial restoration of the liberty of the Press, admission of the right to strike — owing to the necessity of diverting the blame for some of the failures of the government, e.g. Italian policy had offended the clericals; the Cobden Treaty with England offended the manufacturers; the Mexico fiasco; failure to obtain "compensation" from Bismarck after the Prusso-Austrian War.

Note, however, that it was part of Napoleon's original plan to adopt a more liberal policy when he had consolidated his position.

(i) HOME POLICY

In order to remove the dread of revolution and to secure the popularity of the dynasty, Napoleon aimed at: (*a*) Law and Order. (*b*) The development of material prosperity. "I say that the Empire is peace. . . . We have waste territories to cultivate, roads to open, harbors to dig, a system of railroads to complete." He wished to conciliate all classes:

(*a*) *The Middle Classes.* — Less government interference in industry; commercial companies made easier to organize; commercial treaties; International Exhibitions.

(*b*) *The Peasants and Workmen.* — Public works undertaken, e.g. railways, canals, remodelling of Paris; Trade Unions and Co-operative Societies legalized.

(*c*) *The Clergy.* — Confirmed their hold on education; established French garrison at Rome to protect Pope.

The output of wealth was doubled, but the economic changes of the Industrial Revolution led to the displacement of labor and the spread of Socialism.

(ii) FOREIGN POLICY

Like his home policy, Napoleon's foreign policy was contradictory. "In his opinion the artificial work of the Congress of Vienna, involving the downfall of his own family and of France, ought to be destroyed, and Europe organized as a collection of great industrial states, united by community of interests and bound together by commercial treaties." At first he championed the principle of nationality — the growth of Italy, Rumania, and Prussia. But the rise of Germany frightened France, who came to the conclusion that it was necessary at all costs to stop the unification of Germany. As the champion of the lesser German states Napoleon hoped to restore to France the frontier of the Rhine.

The Crimean War (1853–1856). — Napoleon took part to gain the friendship of England and to secure "glory."

The Italian War (1859). — Fears of the Catholic Party and the threats of Prussia caused Napoleon to agree to the Truce of Villafranca. The acquisition of Nice and Savoy seemed a first step to the Rhine frontier. But it was too late either to satisfy the Catholics or to stop Italian unity.

The Austro-Prussian War (1866) ended rapidly, so that Napoleon was unable, as he hoped, to interfere at the proper moment between exhausted combatants.

The Polish Rising (1863–1864). — Napoleon's attempt to interfere offended Russia.

The Mexican Adventure (1862–1867). — Napoleon's attempt to establish a Catholic and Latin Empire in Mexico collapsed at the end of the American Civil War.

The Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871). — The news of Sedan was followed by a revolution which swept away the Second Empire. Possibly the Liberal Empire might have been saved but for this war. But France, though isolated, precipitated the conflict. (*See* Chap. XXIX.)

(5) THE THIRD REPUBLIC (1871–1914)

After the fall of Paris (1871) an attempt was made to establish the *Rule of the Commune*, which demanded the "absolute autonomy of the Commune everywhere in France." After two months of civil war the Commune was crushed by the National Assembly, led by Thiers.

There followed a struggle in the Assembly between the Monarchical Majority and the Republican Minority (1871–1873), which was ended by the declaration of Thiers in favor of a conservative Republic. In 1875, after a de facto existence of four years, was established the **Third Republic:**

(i) Legislative power was vested in: (*a*) Chamber of Deputies, elected by universal suffrage. (*b*) Senate, elected partly by special electoral colleges and partly by the Lower House.

(ii) President, chosen for seven years by both Houses, voting in common, had no veto on legislation, but could return measures for reconsideration. He could dissolve the Chamber, but only with the consent of the Senate.

(iii) The Ministry was responsible to the Assembly. The Premier was selected by the President.

The Third Republic was marked by the freedom of the Press, the freedom of Trade Unions, the establishment of a system of free state-directed education (thus wresting education from the control of the clergy), the separation of Church and State (1905), the appointment of Socialists to power (1909).

Meanwhile France again became a great colonial power. (*See* Chap. XXXV.)

XXIX THE RISE OF GERMANY (1815–1914)

(1) THE GERMAN FEDERATION (1815–1867)

THREE RESULTS OF NAPOLEON'S INFLUENCE

(i) **Disappearance of the Small States,** e.g. the ecclesiastical states, territories of the Knights, free towns. In 1789 there were over 300 states in Germany; in 1815 only thirty-eight (including four towns) were left.

(ii) **The Advantageous Position of Prussia,** which opened the way for it to displace Austria in Germany. (*a*) By the Vienna settlement Prussia lost the greater part of the possessions she had acquired by the last two partitions of Poland, instead of which she gained the Rhine Provinces and half Saxony. Hence, she was comparatively free of non-German races—a contrast to Austria. (*b*) She was strengthened by internal reforms after the disaster of Jena, which forced her to adopt French ideas. (*See* Chap. XXVI.)

(iii) **The Awakening of the Spirit of Nationality.**

The union of Germany into a Federal State would have involved the disintegration of Austria, since her domination would be made impossible by the position of Prussia. Hence, it was the policy of Austria to make the Confederation as loose as possible. She was assisted by the smaller German princes who feared Prussia.

These reasons explain the **German Federation of 1815,** arranged by the Congress of Vienna, to take the place of the Holy Roman Empire.

(i) A union of the " Sovereign Princes and Free Towns of Germany " — thirty-eight States in addition to Austria and Prussia.

(ii) The only common bond was the Federal Diet (held at Frankfort), composed not of representatives of the people, but of diplomatists. No decision could be taken save by the unanimous consent of the whole body.

From the unstable Austrian point of view all change was dangerous. Hence, the policy of Metternich was to suppress Liberalism in Germany, e.g. the Carlsbad Decrees for the muzzling of professors (1819), the suppression of the students' union, the censorship of the Press. But the wars against Napoleon had given rise to a party of German patriots who desired to see all countries speaking German united in one nation.

Meanwhile, the *Zollverein* (Customs Union) was formed, with Prussia at the head (1833). Gradually, by levying transit dues, Prussia forced the other states into the tariff union. *Austria, however, was excluded.*

(2) THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

was an effort to make the state one with the nation. Hence, Germany—with one race, many governments—was

impelled to unity, and Austria—many races, one government—to separation. There met **The National Assembly at Frankfort** (1848–1849), chosen by universal suffrage, which possessed only moral authority, since, in the presence of the old governments, it could not execute its projects.

The Assembly agreed (*a*) on a Liberal Constitution, (*b*) to establish a federal state.

On two questions, however, it could not come to a decision. Firstly, what countries should form the German Empire? — both Prussia (in Posen and Poland) and Austria (Slavs, Magyars, Rumanians) had subjects who did not speak German. Secondly, should Austria or Prussia control the Empire?

Finally, the Little German Party — which wished to include German Austria only — out-voted the Greater German Party — which wished to admit the whole Austrian Empire into the Federation — and elected as hereditary Emperor the King of Prussia. But Frederick William IV, hostile to a Liberal Constitution, refused to accept "a crown of shame." The result was the collapse of the Frankfort Assembly.

Since Frederick William refused to accept a crown from the people, some of the German princes consented to invite him to become German Emperor. Austria, however, having by this time defeated Sardinia and crushed the rebellion of Hungary, united with the rulers of Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, and Hanover. Prussia yielded to all demands (1850), and in 1851 the German Constitution of 1815 was re-established in its old form.

Results:

(*a*) Promulgation by Frederick William IV of a Constitution for Prussia (1850), which remained in force until 1918.

(*b*) The way was paved for the establishment of German unity by autocratic and military methods.

(3) THE ATTAINMENT OF UNITY (1862–1871)

The Revolution of 1848 had shown clearly the impossibility of a German State which should include both Austria and Prussia. To make Prussia strong enough to exclude Austria from the Confederation was the work of **Bismarck** (1815–1898), who for nine years had represented Prussia at the Diet of Frankfort, and who became Prime Minister in 1862. He advised Austria to withdraw from Germany and to "transfer her centre of gravity to Budapest." "Germany must be merged into Prussia," but he saw that Austria would not retire without a war — "The German problem cannot be solved by Parliamentary decrees, but only by blood and iron."

In order to bring about the defeat of Austria, Bismarck aimed at: (*a*) The reorganization of the Prussian Army, which explains his home policy. (*b*) An Alliance with or the neutrality of the European powers, which explains his foreign policy, e.g. promise of "compensation" to Napoleon III; promise of Venice to Italy; neutrality of Russia secured by helping her to subdue Poland (1863).

The work of Bismarck was accomplished by three wars.

(i) WAR OF AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA AGAINST DENMARK (1864)

1858 — With Moltke head of the Prussian General Staff the war army was more than doubled.

1859 — Parliament, in opposition to the War Minister, Von Roon, refused to vote an increase in the budget.

1862 — *Struggle of Bismarck with the Prussian Parliament.* In defiance of the Lower House and the newspapers, he contrived to levy the taxes and carried on the strengthening of the army. This conflict continued until 1866.

1864 — *War of Austria and Prussia with Denmark* was soon ended by the Peace of Vienna, by which Schleswig and Holstein were surrendered by Denmark.

1865 — By the Treaty of Gastein, Austria undertook the provisional administration of Holstein and Prussia of Schleswig.

" People in 1864 wanted Schleswig-Holstein to be attached, under a ruler of its own, to the German Federation as it then existed. What Bismarck intended was that Schelswig-Holstein, itself incorporated more or less directly with Prussia, should be made the means of the destruction of the existing Federal system and of the expulsion of Austria from Germany."

(ii) **THE AUSTRO-PRUSSIAN WAR** (1866)
(Seven Weeks' War)

1865 — Bismarck, meeting Napoleon III at Biarritz, secures French neutrality, probably by the promise of a " rectification of frontier."

1866 — Alliance of Prussia and Italy against Austria. Prussia, pretending that Austria is favoring revolutionary ideas in Holstein, occupies that country.

— *The Seven Weeks' War.* — Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, Hanover, Baden, and the two Hesses joined Austria, since Austria, unlike Prussia, did not want to take away their sovereign power.

— After the rapid defeat of Austria at Königgrätz (Sadowa) the war ended with

— **The Peace of Prague.**

(*a*) Austria withdrew from the Confederation, leaving Prussia the mistress of Germany. This meant: (1) A step towards German unity. (2) Austria was set free for an Eastern Policy.

(*b*) Austria transferred to Prussia her rights in Schleswig-Holstein.

(*c*) Venice was ceded by Austria to Italy (Peace of Vienna, 1866).

— Prussia annexed the Northern States she had occupied during the war — Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and Frankfort.

Thus ended the struggle begun in 1740 *for the supremacy of Germany.*

There followed the establishment of the **North German Confederation** to take the place of the old Bund.

(i) Each state preserved its own internal government.

(ii) A Federal Government, with the King of Prussia as President, to have charge of the army, international relations, railways, banks, commercial and criminal law.

(iii) The Parliament of the Federation was composed of
(*a*) A Bundesrat, consisting of delegates of the sovereigns of the states (Prussia had 17 votes, and the other 21 members 26 votes altogether).
(*b*) A Reichstag, elected by universal suffrage.

(iv) There was no federal ministry. The King of Prussia was to exercise the executive power through the Chancellor, who presided over the Bundesrat.

From 1867 to 1870, therefore, Germany consisted of two parts : (*a*) The States north of the River Main, under the leadership of Prussia. (*b*) Four detached States in the South — Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt. The States of the South, however, were bound to the North German Confederation by the Zollverein, and by a defensive military alliance (since they feared annexation by France). Thus secure, Bismarck left it to time to bring the four Southern States into the Confederation.

(iii) THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR (1870–1871)

1866 — Refusal of Bismarck to " compensate " Napoleon by ceding to France the left bank of the Rhine and Mainz.

1867 — Napoleon's attempt to secure Luxemburg as " compensation " ends in the evacuation of Luxemburg by Prussia, and the guarantee by the powers of her neutrality. Thus war was postponed until —

1870 — Election of Leopold of Hohenzollern to the Spanish crown. After the withdrawal of the Prince, France demanded of William I " that he would never again permit the candidature of the prince for the Spanish crown." The editing of the Ems Telegram by Bismarck caused France to declare war.

CAUSES

(i) **The Desire of Napoleon III to raise the prestige of his dynasty,** owing to :

(*a*) *The Failure of his Foreign Policy.* — France wished to recover the left bank of the Rhine and secure her so-called " natural boundaries." To this the approach of the German nation to political unity was a menace, and the military alliance of the States of the South with the North German Confederation made war almost inevitable. In 1866 the rapid defeat of Austria took Napoleon by surprise. Since then Bismarck had refused " compensation." Moreover, Napoleon had alienated Italy by the expedition to save Rome from Garibaldi (1865). And the Mexican fiasco had ended with the death of Maximilian of Austria (1867).

(*b*) *The Failure of his Home Policy.* — Napoleon feared the efforts of the Liberals to obtain parliamentary liberty and the demands of the working class for social reforms.

(ii) **The Growth of German Nationality.** — The Southern States, although menaced by France, hesitated to throw in their lot with the Northern Federation. Hence, Bismarck came to the conclusion that war with France was needed in order to complete the work of German unity. Knowing that Napoleon was attempting to organize a league of France, Austria, and Italy against Germany, he resolved to anticipate the danger.

After the disaster of **Sedan** (1870), which caused the fall of the Empire, the war was a struggle for Paris. While Gambetta was organizing forces in the South and West, there took place the capitulation of *Metz*, and, finally, the *surrender of Paris* (1871).

By the **Peace of Frankfort-on-Main** France ceded to the German Empire Alsace (except Belfort) and German Lorraine, with Metz and Thionville (1871).

RESULTS OF THE WAR

(i) *The Downfall of the Second Empire.*

(ii) *The adoption of the Prussian system of "organization" and universal military service by other states.*

(iii) *The creation of the German Empire* (1871).

The States of the South joined the Northern Confederation, the name of which was changed to the German Empire.

(*a*) The German Emperor (the King of Prussia) represented the Empire in international relations, army, etc.

(*b*) A Bundesrat, consisting of representatives of the twenty-five governments, was under the presidency of the Chancellor, who was appointed by and solely responsible to the Emperor.

(*c*) The Reichstag was elected by manhood suffrage. But in practice the Bundesrat made all laws, and the Reichstag was little more than a debating society.

(*d*) Each state managed its local affairs.

(4) THE GERMAN EMPIRE (1871–1914)

The dividing line in the history of Germany, 1871 to 1914, is the fall of Bismarck in 1890, two years after the accession of William II.

(*a*) FOREIGN POLICY

After the defeat of France, Bismarck's policy was one of peace, in order that the new German Empire might consolidate and develop its resources. His aim was to keep France isolated. By agreements with Austria (1879) and Italy (1882), he built up the Triple Alliance, while he kept on good terms with Russia and England.

After the fall of Bismarck, however, France was able to build up a rival system of alliances. German policy in the Balkans, in support of Austria, estranged Russia, while her colonial policy and her creation of a powerful navy alarmed Great Britain. Hence, a few years later, the Triple Alliance found itself faced by the Dual Alliance of France and Russia (1891), the Entente between France and Great Britain (1904), and, finally, the Triple Entente of France, Russia, and Great Britain (1907). (*See* Chap. XXXV.)

(*b*) HOME AFFAIRS

(i) **The Strengthening of the Central Authority.**

(1) *The Imperial Control* of finance (coinage, banking, etc.), of law (State laws superseded by Imperial Codes, e.g. Code of Civil Law, 1896), of communication (railways, telegraphs, etc.).

(2) *Attempts to Crush Opposition.* — The so-called "Kulturkampf" against the Catholics lasted from 1873 to about 1887, when a truce was concluded with Leo XIII. The Anti-Socialist Laws (1878–1890) against the Social Democratic Party were not renewed, and by 1914 the Socialists were the largest political party in Germany.

(ii) **The Promotion of Material Prosperity.**

(1) *The Development of Manufactures and Trade.* — The establishment of German unity broke down the "small states system," which checked economic development, and thus gave full scope to the spread of the Industrial Revolution.

In order to aid the development of agriculture and manufactures, the Zollverein, abandoning free trade, introduced new tariffs, which were gradually increased (1879–1914).

(2) *The Growth of Education.* — The elementary schools were efficient, especially in Saxony and Prussia. The secondary schools were the best organized in Europe. The technical schools turned out engineers and chemists. Note, too, the important part played by science, e.g. Helmholtz, Koch, Haeckel, Röntgen, Virchow.

(3) *Social Legislation.* — State insurance against sickness, accidents, and old age; labor exchanges; factory regulations.

(4) *The Establishment of a Colonial Empire*, especially in Africa. Though Bismarck disapproved of the acquisition of colonies, he took part in the scramble for Africa (the Berlin Conference, 1884–1885). (*See* Chap. XXXV.)

XXX THE UNITY OF ITALY
(1815–1919)

Italy in 1815 relapsed into the condition before the French Revolution — " a geographical expression " — a land of absolutism and clericalism, consisting of:

(i) *Sardinia* (Piedmont), which included Genoa, Savoy, and Nice.

(ii) *The Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom*, under Austria, which controlled indirectly the three Duchies, and protected the Pope and Naples against revolt, e.g. suppressed two attempts to establish a liberal regime: (*a*) In Naples and in Sardinia (1821). (*b*) In the Papal States and in the three Duchies (1831).

(iii) *The Three Duchies* — Parma, Modena, Tuscany — ruled by relatives of the Austrian Emperor.

(iv) *The Papal States.*

(v) *The Kingdom of Naples* (the Two Sicilies).

(1) THE RISORGIMENTO (1815–1848)

included:

(i) **Republicanism,** the aim of the Carbonari and later of *Young Italy*, organized by Mazzini (1805–1872), " to unite all Italy in a single state under republican government."

(ii) **A Liberal Papacy.** — Gioberti advocated a " federation of the various states under the presidency of the Pope."

(iii) **The House of Savoy.** — Many hoped that Piedmont, under a constitutional monarchy, would gradually expand into the Kingdom of Italy. In 1848 Charles Albert granted a constitution (which later, between 1859 and 1870, was extended to all Italy).

(2) THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

broke out at the news of the Republic in Paris and of the rising in Vienna. Milan rose in revolt; Venice proclaimed a republic. Charles Albert of Sardinia, aided by Tuscany and volunteers from Rome and Naples, was defeated at Custozza (1848) and Novara (1849) by the Austrians, after which he abdicated in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel II.

Meantime, at Rome, Mazzini declared Pius IX to have forfeited his temporal dignities and proclaimed the Roman Republic (1849). Napoleon III, however, wishing to please the French Catholics, sent French troops, who defeated Garibaldi — whose defence of Rome raised him to be a popular hero — and restored the Pope.

Everywhere absolutism triumphed. Victor Emmanuel refused the better terms which the Austrians offered him, if he would revoke the constitution, and Piedmont remained the only liberal state in the peninsula.

The Revolution of 1848 showed that national unity would not come: (*a*) Through the Papacy — for Pius IX abandoned his championship of constitutional government and nationality. (*b*) Through Mazzini and the Republicans.

(3) CAVOUR (1852–1861)

Cavour (1810–1861) became Premier of Sardinia in 1852. "Others have been devoted to the cause of national liberation; he knew how to bring it into the sphere of possibilities; he led it away from barren utopias; he kept it clear of reckless conspiracies; steered straight between revolution and reaction; and gave it an organized force, a flag, a government, and foreign allies."

The aim of Cavour was to drive the Austrians out of Italy, and to establish, as a first step towards national

union, a Northern Kingdom of Italy under Victor Emmanuel. His adhesion to Parliamentary government and his liberal reforms made Sardinia the home of liberty, and attracted to her the other states of Italy. In Italy Liberalism meant anti-clericalism, since the unification of Italy could only be accomplished by the overthrow of the temporal claims of the Papacy. His preparation for the coming struggle included the organization of the army, the completion of the railway system, and financial reforms (e.g. he removed restrictions on commerce and industry; to increase revenue he secularized 334 out of 600 monasteries).

The events of 1848–1849 had proved the necessity of foreign aid. Hence, the plan of Cavour was to isolate Austria and to win over Napoleon III. With this idea he:

(*a*) Involved Sardinia in the Crimean War (1855) and supported France at the Congress of Paris.

(*b*) Promised Nice and Savoy to Napoleon III (secret meeting at Plombières, 1858) in return for his help in driving the Austrians from Italy.

(i) DEFEAT OF THE AUSTRIANS BY SARDINIA AND NAPOLEON III (1859)

After victories at Magenta and Solferino, which drove the Austrians out of Lombardy, Napoleon, instead of marching on Venice, agreed at Villafranca to peace, owing to: (*a*) Opposition of French Catholics. (*b*) Fear of Prussia. (*c*) Independent spirit of the Italians which ended his dreams of a federation under the patronage of France. (*d*) The narrowness of the French victories.

By the **Treaty of Zürich:**

(1) Lombardy (except Mantua and Peschiera) was ceded to Sardinia.

(2) Venice remained Austrian.

(3) The rulers of Tuscany and Modena, who had been expelled by their peoples, were to be reinstated.

(4) Italy was to form a confederation under the honorary presidency of the Pope.

In spite of the treaty, however, a movement in central Italy in favor of union ended in :

(ii) **THE INCORPORATION OF TUSCANY, PARMA, MODENA, AND THE ROMAGNA** (the north part of the States of the Church) **WITH SARDINIA** (1860)

Cavour gained the consent of Napoleon to this by the cession of Nice and Savoy (Treaty of Turin, 1860).

(iii) **THE TWO SICILIES, THE MARCHES, AND UMBRIA**

" They have stopped me," said Cavour, " from making Italy by diplomacy from the North ; I will make it with the Revolution from the South."

When the people of Sicily revolted against the Bourbon Francis II, Garibaldi, openly disavowed but secretly encouraged by Cavour, with his " Red Shirts," overran Sicily and Naples (1860).

Anticipating an attack of Garibaldi on Rome (which would mean war with France, since Rome was still garrisoned by French troops), Victor Emmanuel occupied the Marches and Umbria (the remaining part of the Papal States). By a plebiscite, Sicily, Naples, the Marches and Umbria voted for union with Sardinia.

In 1861 Victor Emmanuel assumed the title of King of Italy.

The Papacy, however, refused all alliance with Liberalism, and in the *Syllabus of Modern Errors* (1864) condemned Lutheranism, Jansenism, Voltaireanism, and Socialism.

(4) THE COMPLETION OF UNITY (1866–1919)

(i) **Venice** (1866) was received by Victor Emmanuel as a reward for his alliance with Prussia in the Austro-Prussian war.

(ii) **Rome** (1870) was occupied during the Franco-German War, after the withdrawal of French troops.

(iii) **The Trentino and Trieste** (1919). — These districts were ceded to Italy by the Treaty of Versailles.

XXXI THE DISSOLUTION OF THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE (1815–1919)

(1) THE AGE OF METTERNICH (1815–1848)

Metternich was the " incarnation of reaction," and for thirty years he endeavored to act as the " policeman of Europe." His policy is explained by the character of the Austrian Empire — a dozen nationalities, of every stage of culture, divided by language, religion, and immemorial hatreds and rivalries — to which all change was dangerous.

The Holy Alliance, inspired by Alexander I of Russia, who wished princes to govern " in accordance with the precepts of the gospel of Jesus Christ," became, in the hands of Metternich, the Quadruple Alliance of Austria, Prussia, Russia, and France — a league of the four big powers to protect rulers against Liberalism and Nationality.

Metternich's doctrine of interference in the domestic affairs of other states was repudiated by England (1820) and then by France (1830). His policy of reaction was weakened by the creation of the Kingdom of Greece (1829), the French Revolution of 1830, the creation of the Kingdom of Belgium (1831), and disappeared at the Revolution of 1848.

It follows that Austrian policy in the German Federation was to suppress Liberalism. All hope of the Diet developing into a strong central government was destroyed, for a disunited Germany meant the dominance of Austria. (*See* Chap. XXIX.)

(2) THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

The government of Austria was a bureaucracy, mostly in the hands of the Germans, which played off against one another the nationalistic forces in the Empire. The Magyar movement in Hungary, for example, represented the interests of the large landowners, while among the Czechs of Bohemia nationalism was mainly represented by the masses of the people.

The overthrow of Louis Philippe caused a revolt of the Germans in Vienna for a Constitution, and gave the subject races in the Austrian Empire a chance of satisfying their old ambitions. Compromise on the part of Austria was impossible, since popular sovereignty would have meant the dissolution of the Empire of the Hapsburgs. For this reason any promises made by the Emperor Ferdinand were repudiated by his successor, Francis Joseph.

(i) *The Italians in Lombardy and Venice.* — After the victory of Custozza, Austria was able to deal with revolt at home.

(ii) *The Czechs of Bohemia.* — Here any chance of independence was ended by the rivalry of the Czechs and the Germans.

(iii) *The Magyars of Hungary*, led by the Republican Kossuth and by Déak. The Magyars, however, wished to dominate over the Croats (the Slavs of South Hungary), who desired union with their kindred in Croatia. The bitter rivalry between the Magyars and the Croats, and the help given to Austria by the Tsar Nicholas I, who feared Hungarian independence would lead to a rising in Poland, enabled Austria to crush the revolt, which ended in the surrender of Görgei at Vilagos (1849). There followed a reign of terror under the brutal

Haynau, and the abolition of every vestige of Magyar liberties.

Meanwhile, the revolutionists at Vienna were forced to surrender. The Emperor Ferdinand abdicated in favor of Francis Joseph (1848–1916), and Schwarzenberg, a disciple of Metternich, issued a centralized constitution for the whole Empire. The system of Metternich was once more established.

(3) THE DUAL MONARCHY (1867–1918)

In 1859 Austria lost Lombardy. After her defeat in the Seven Weeks' War, when she lost Venice (1866) the Hungarians, led by Déak, secured the " Compromise," which established the **Dual Constitution:**

(i) The Hapsburg realm was divided into two inseparable states — the Empire of Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary — each with its own constitution, legislature, and administration.

(ii) There was a common policy for such matters as foreign affairs and war.

In Austria-Hungary the principle of nationality worked for disunion. " Until 1867 German repressed both Slav and Magyar; after that date he still repressed Czech, Ruthenian, Slovene, and Italian. Magyar, liberated from German domination in 1867, continued to lord it over Slovak, Rumanian, and Serbo-Croat."

By the Wars of 1859 and 1866 Austria lost her position in Italy and Germany. Henceforward, the only direction in which she could expand was the Balkan Peninsula, and this meant a conflict with Russia.

The World War (1914–1918) led to the disintegration of the Dual Monarchy and the end of the Hapsburgs, rulers of Austria for 645 years. (*See* Chaps. XXIX, XXX, and XXXV.)

XXXII RUSSIA
(1815–1919)

In 1815 Russia consisted of:

(i) **Russians** (Slavonic). (*a*) Great Russians — grouped round Moscow. (*b*) Little Russians — of the Ukraine — grouped round Kiev. (*c*) White Russians.

(ii) **Non-Russians.** (*a*) Lapps and Finns. (*b*) Letts, Esths, Germans, and Lithuanians. (*c*) Poles. (*d*) Rumanians — in Bessarabia (from Turkey, 1812).
(*e*) Mongols and other Asiatics.

In 1815 the urban population of Russia was under 5 per cent. of the whole. The only towns of any size were St. Petersburg and Moscow. The nation was composed of illiterate serfs, chained to the soil, liable to sale with the estates they tilled, and dividing up their lands on the communal system. All land — except the crown domains — was owned by the nobles, who had few privileges, and could only gain distinction in the service of the crown. Manufactures were still in the "domestic stage," and the trading classes were almost non-existent.

Privileges were restricted to the National (Greek) Church. The clergy were exempt from the poll tax, and not only had their own ecclesiastical courts but directed civil justice.

Controlling Church and State was the Tsar and Autocrat of all the Russians.

(1) FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(i) ASIATIC EXPANSION

With the exception of the struggle against Napoleon, the Russian Empire during the nineteenth century pressed eastwards. The cause of expansion was not the

necessity for more land. But in Serbia there was neither serfdom, nor religious persecution, nor military service.

By the middle of the century the southern boundaries of this great Asiatic Empire were China, Persia, and Afghanistan. In 1901 the Trans-Siberian Railway was completed. After the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), however, Russia was compelled to release her hold on Manchuria and the Liao-tung Peninsula.

At the end of the nineteenth century only two native states, Persia and Afghanistan, remained independent, and these only because neither Russia nor England was willing to surrender them to the other.

(ii) THE BALKANS

In the Balkans the Turks formed a small minority, and were divided from their subjects by religion, race, language, and customs.

Gradually, during the nineteenth century, the peoples of the Balkans threw off the Turkish yoke. They secured powerful aid from Russia, the champion of Slav nationality, who desired to reach the Mediterranean sea-board.

(*a*) **The War of Greek Independence** (1821–1829), which started the "Balkan Question," caused by: (1) The Influence of the French Revolution. (2) The revival of Hellenism. (3) Sense of unity given by the Orthodox Church. (4) Other revolts against the Turks, e.g. Mehemet Ali in Egypt; Ali Pasha in Albania. (5) Sea-power of the Greeks of the Islands.

After the Russo-Turkish War (1828–1829), ended by the Treaty of Adrianople: (*a*) Turkey recognized the Independence of Greece. (*b*) Moldavia and Wallachia became in all but name a Russian Protectorate (united as the Kingdom of Rumania, 1861).

(*b*) **The Crimean War** (1853–1856), caused by : (1) Russian designs of expansion to the Mediterranean. (2) English fear of Russia in the East. (3) Desire of Napoleon III to provide France with " glory."

The *Treaty of Paris* (1856) : (1) Gave a new lease of life to Turkey (but the " integrity of Turkey " policy soon gave way to a policy of Buffer States). (2) Secured the neutralization of the Black Sea (repudiated by Russia during the Franco-German War, 1870). (3) Forced Russia to relinquish part of Bessarabia. (4) Forced Russia to renounce her claims to a protectorate over the Christians of Turkey.

(*c*) **The Russo-Turkish War** (1877–1878), after which the Treaty of San Stefano, owing to the fears of England and Austria, was revised at the *Congress of Berlin* (1878).

(1) Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro to be independent.

(2) The great Bulgarian state which Russia wished to establish was broken up into three : (*a*) North Bulgaria — autonomous state tributary to the Sultan. (*b*) South Bulgaria (Eastern Roumelia) — self-governing province under the Sultan. (In 1885 Roumelia united with Bulgaria, and later, in 1908, their prince refused any longer to pay tribute to the Sultan, so that Bulgaria became an independent kingdom). (*c*) Macedonian Provinces — restored to Turkey.

(3) Austria, for her neutrality during the war, was given the protectorate of Bosnia and Herzegovina (annexed, 1908).

(4) Russia gained Batoum, Kars, and also Bessarabia again (for which she gave the Dobrudja).

(*d*) **The War of the Balkan League against Turkey** (1912–1913). (*See* Chap. XXXV.)

(2) INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Alexander I (1801–1825) at first inclined towards liberal ideas, as is shown by his championship of Poland and the so-called Holy Alliance. After 1822, however, he supported the reactionary policy of Metternich.

His successor, Nicholas I (1825–1855), ruled as a brutal autocrat, who suppressed the Polish Revolt (1830–1831), and aided Austria to crush the Hungarian Republic (1849).

During the first years of Alexander II (1855–1881) came an era of reform (1855–1863), which closed with the ruthless suppression of the Second Polish Revolt (1863). From this date, under Alexander III (1881–1894) and Nicholas II (1894–1917), the old autocratic methods were renewed, until the Revolution of 1905.

(i) SUPPRESSION OF NON-RUSSIAN NATIONALITIES

The Old Russians (or Slavophites) championed a policy of "One Russia, one Creed, one Tsar." They desired the unity of all members of the Slav family, and the Russification of the whole Empire, i.e. forcing the Russian language, religion, and administration on the non-Russians.

(*a*) *Poland.* — After the rising of 1830–1831 the Constitution of 1815 was abolished, and a policy of Russification begun, e.g. Russian officials; Russian language in schools; universities of Warsaw and Vilna suppressed; Poles forced to serve in Russian army. After the rising of 1863 the process continued, e.g. measures to destroy Catholicism; introduction of Russian judicial system; use of Polish forbidden in churches, newspapers, and even in conversation.

(*b*) *Baltic Provinces* of Esthonia, Latvia, and Kurland, inhabited by Letts and Finns. Attacks on language, culture, and the Lutheran religion.

(*c*) *Finland* was deprived of self-government by Nicholas II — a policy supported by the Third Duma (1907).

(*d*) *The Jews* were theoretically restricted to " Jewish Territory " (South-West Poland, Ukrainia, etc.). Persecutions were launched by the government, e.g. Jews debarred from most professions; those outside the Pale deported to their birthplaces.

(ii) SUPPRESSION OF LIBERALISM

Opposed to the Old Russians were the Liberals, who believed that the salvation of Russia lay in the ideals of Western Europe. They championed the principles of the French Revolution, and initiated a movement which was to end in the Revolution of 1917.

The Nihilists, unable to agitate publicly, aimed at meeting force by force. The depression caused by the Turkish War (1877–1878) was the beginning of a campaign of violence which ended in the assassination of Alexander II (1881).

(iii) AN ERA OF REFORM (1855–1865)

began with the accession of Alexander II. The censorship of the Press was relaxed, the universities were opened to all, and the Secret Police restricted. Reforms were introduced in local government (by the creation of Zemstvos — district and provincial assemblies, composed of representatives of the landlords, the clergy, and the Mir. Later, however, Alexander III gave control to nobles only), the judicial system, and education. Most important of all, there took place **The Emancipation of the Serfs** (1861), by which serfdom was abolished throughout the Empire.

(1) The village lands were vested in the Mir.
(2) An extent of land was assigned to each family.
(3) Peasants were to pay landlords for allotments either by labor or a fixed rent.
(4) The allotments could be purchased, and the price advanced by the State to the Mir, to be repaid with interest in forty-nine years.

But (*a*) Allotments too small to enable peasants to earn a living (only one-third of total area of agricultural land transferred).
(*b*) Price too high, since it was calculated not only on the value of the land but on the loss of the serf's labor.

The Era of Reform ended with the Second Polish Insurrection, and the assassination of Alexander II completed the triumph of the Old Russian Party.

(3) THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION (1905–)

(i) THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

After the defeat of Russia by Japan (1904–1905) revolutionary disorders led to:

1906 — Establishment of an "advisory Duma," which the same year was given legislative power.
1907 — The Second Duma demanded control of the executive and was dismissed.
— Election, on a limited franchise, of the Third Duma. Tsar forced to consent to Parliamentary Government:
(1) The Duma.
(2) Upper House or Imperial Council.
(3) Executive — Ministers responsible to the Tsar.

The Duma had no real power, and Russia became an autocracy again.

(ii) CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1917

(1) **The Economic Condition of the Peasants,** who numbered over 80 per cent. of the population, owing to: (*a*) The allotments were too small. (*b*) The redemption price was often higher than value of land. (*c*) Increased taxation, e.g. owing to foreign loans.

The Government, recognizing the danger, initiated a new agrarian policy (1906–1910), which included:

(*a*) Suspension of all redeeming payments.
(*b*) Emigration plans.
(*c*) An attempt to create free peasant proprietors, so that a man could, if he wished, leave the commune, and hold his land privately. The plan, however, failed, owing to: (1) The peasants lacked capital. (2) They were accustomed to communal life. (3) The new law, by granting ownership to the chief householder, deprived all other members of the family of their rights to the land.

(2) **The Bureaucratic Imperialism of the Nobles.** — The rulers of Russia were the officials and aristocrats, whose wealth and privileges depended on the bondage of the peasants. The Greek Church, controlled by the State, was used as an instrument of repression. Primary education was prevented from spreading, and every effort was made to keep university and secondary education a class monopoly. Hence, there existed two great divisions — the upper classes, who imitated the culture of Western Europe, and the brutal and ignorant peasants, whose habits and ideas were those of the time of Peter the Great.

From 1907 the old repressive policy was continued. Sedition was rooted out by the secret police; the Poles and the Finns were treated worse than ever; the land question became more acute; and the rivalry with Austria for the control of the Balkans led directly to the War of 1914.

(3) **The Coming of the Industrial Revolution.** — The emancipation of the serfs led to the growth of capitalism, especially from about 1890. For the first time Russia witnessed the growth of industrial towns — West Poland, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Odessa, Kiev, Kherson — and the creation of industrial wage-earners. It was the workmen of the towns and the intellectuals who spread the ideas of the Revolution.

(4) **Revolutionary Propaganda.** — The realistic school of Russian literature — such writers as Dostoievsky (who was deported to Siberia, 1849–1856), Turgenev, Tolstoy, and Gorky — gives a vivid picture of the hopeless state of the peasantry and of the poor in the cities.

The real revolutionary propaganda, however, was the work of the Social Democrats, who adopted the teaching of Karl Marx. These were divided into two parties: The Menshevists (Evolutionary Socialists), and the Bolshevists (Revolutionary Socialists).

(5) **The Sufferings caused by the War against the Central Powers** (1914–1917) owing to:

(*a*) The incompetence and corruption of the autocracy.

(*b*) Inferiority in supply of war materials, owing to the lack of machinery and trained mechanics.

(*c*) Inadequate railway system.

(iii) STEPS IN THE REVOLUTION (1917–)

(1) *Insurrection in Petrograd* ended in the abdication of the Tsar and end of the Romanov dynasty (after 304 years).

(2) *A Provisional Government* under: (*a*) Prince Lvov (the Constitutional Democrats, representing the Middle Classes). (*b*) Kerensky (supported by the Menshevists). Liberal Reforms, e.g. Liberty of speech and of the Press; universal suffrage; regulations against oppressed nationalities and religions revoked; Finnish Constitution ratified, and Poles promised independence.

Last attempt to induce the war-wearied soldiers to continue the struggle against the Central Powers ends in failure.

(3) *Overthrow of Kerensky by the Bolshevists*, led by Lenin (Vladimir Ulianov) and Trotsky, whose aims were:
- (*a*) Peace with the Central Powers — Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918).
- (*b*) The "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" — Organization of Soviets throughout Russia.

(4) *Dissolution of the Old Russian Empire* into:
- (*a*) Four Independent Republics in the Baltic — Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, Finland.
- (*b*) In the Caucasus — Georgia, Armenia (Russian), Azerbaijan, etc.
- (*c*) The Republic of Siberia.
- (*d*) The solid centre of Great Russia, ruled by the Bolshevists.
- (*e*) Bessarabia was annexed by Rumania; Poland was included in the Polish Republic.

(5) *The Bolshevists save the Revolution* by:
- (*a*) Defeat of the Non-Bolshevists, e.g. Denikin (South-east Russia and East Ukraine), Wrangel (Crimea, 1920).

(*b*) Defeat of foreign armies on Russian soil, e.g. British (Archangel region), Rumanians and French (South Russia), the Poles (1920).

Among the causes of the success of the Bolshevists were:

(1) They were based on the Old Central Russia.
(2) The peasants feared the loss of their newly acquired land.
(3) Help given to the "Whites" by foreign powers identified the Revolution with the cause of Russia.
(4) The establishment of Revolutionary Tribunals which set up a reign of terror.
(5) Constructive policy, including: (*a*) A Constitution of the Federal Republic of Soviets, (*b*) Reconstruction of the Army. (*c*) System of free State-directed education.

XXXIII THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

(1) ECONOMIC EUROPE IN 1700

(i) Overseas trade, consisting chiefly of spicery, bullion, objects of luxury, formed a very small proportion of the total industry of the country.
(ii) Navigation was still slow and risky.
(iii) The New World was but slightly opened up.
(iv) *The Mercantile System*, by setting up a series of pseudo-economic barriers, hampered trade. It included:

(*a*) Protection of home industries. Imports restricted to commodities which could not be produced at home and to raw materials for manufactures; exports were encouraged by bounties and subsidies.

(*b*) The exploitation of colonies — in the sixteenth century by Spain and Portugal; in the seventeenth by Holland, France, and England.

(*c*) The theory that the balance of trade should be in a country's favor in order by an excess of exports over imports to bring bullion into the country, since the more gold there was in circulation in a country, the more prosperous it was thought to be, e.g. England cut off trade with France (1702–1763) but cultivated trade with Portugal.

(v) Monopolies of colonial and foreign trade were given to Chartered Companies, e.g. England, France, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia each chartered its own East India Company.

(vi) There was only a slight development of international credit.

(2) CAUSES OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

"It was the English who invented steam-engines and railways, which set up a model for the great factories, for working mines, and building railways and steamboats, which organized the system of banking and credit, as well as stock companies, co-operative societies, and workingmen's associations."

(i) THE AGRARIAN REVOLUTION

In feudal times the workers on a farm enjoyed fixity of tenure and lived a nearly self-sufficing existence.

Trade in agricultural produce began the change, e.g. Flemish demand for wool led, in England, to the formation of large pasture farms and the enclosure of common lands. Thus began the process of converting the small yeoman and cottager into the wage-earner.

Later, in the eighteenth century, an increase of population led to further enclosures for tillage and improvements in farming, e.g. the rotation of crops (instead of the three-field system), cattle-breeding, and sheep-breeding. At the same time the introduction of machinery destroyed the home industries which helped the peasants to pay their rents. Hence, there came into existence a large supply of landless laborers — the workers required for modern capitalism.

In Germany the same process can be traced — the agrarian reforms (1811–1816), the enclosure of common fields, more intensive cultivation, machinery, the gradual disappearance of the laborers' rights.

The same movement, the rate of which is determined by the growth of population and the progress of agriculture, can be traced in France, Belgium, and Italy.

(ii) THE GROWTH OF SCIENCE

The Industrial Revolution is based on Science. Before the steam-engine could be invented it was necessary to build up the mechanical laws of force and motion, e.g. Newton; the means of measuring, e.g. Napier, Descartes, Newton, and Leibnitz; the properties of gases, e.g. Torricelli and Boyle. (*See* Chap. XXXIV.)

(iii) INVENTIONS IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

The old-fashioned machines were the spinning-wheel and the hand-loom. Kay's "flying shuttle" (1738) not only enabled the hand-loom to be worked by one man, instead of two, but doubled the speed of the weaving.

Even before Kay's invention the spinners had great difficulties in supplying sufficient thread and yarn to the weavers. Hargreaves, therefore, invented the "Spinning Jenny" (1770), which spun eight threads simultaneously, whereas the old spinning-wheel had only spun two

threads at once. Arkwright produced his "water-frame" (1769), a spinning machine run by water-power. Crompton's "mule" (1779) combined the essential features of the machines of Hargreaves and Arkwright.

Now the spinners could produce more thread and yarn than the weavers could convert into cloth, until Cartwright's Power Loom (1785).

The invention in America by Whitney of the "cotton-gin" placed at the disposal of industry vast supplies of cotton (1793).

(iv) THE INVENTION OF THE STEAM-ENGINE

James Watt (1736–1819), by his improvement of Newcomen's model, invented a steam-engine to pump water out of mines (1769). Afterwards he adapted it to drive machinery in mills (Nottingham, 1785; Manchester, 1789).

The next stage was two inventions, which placed the steam-engine at the service of commerce — the railway and the steamship.

Thus began the Age of Steam of the nineteenth century, at the close of which other motive forces began to develop — (*a*) electricity, (*b*) the gas-engine.

(v) THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IRON TRADE

caused by the necessity, after the invention of the steam-engine, for the more rapid production of machines. Modern machinery, in fact, only became possible when the working of large masses of metal reached a high stage of development. The forests of England began to be exhausted, and therefore it was necessary to substitute coal for charcoal.

Note: (*a*) The discovery that iron could be smelted by coke.

(*b*) The substitution of the hot blast for the cold blast (1829), and of raw coal for coke (1833).

(*c*) The Nasmyth steam-hammer (1839).

(*d*) The Bessemer process for making machines of steel (1856). Later came the open-hearth process and the electric furnace.

Thus the Age of Iron gave way to the Age of Steel.

(3) RESULTS OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

(i) ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FACTORY SYSTEM

In the Middle Ages, when the Guild System prevailed, there was no separation of Labor and Capital, since a master, assisted by his journeymen — who all hoped sooner or later to become masters themselves — not only manufactured the finished article but sold it directly to the purchaser.

On the decay of the Guild System its place was taken by the Domestic System, and " the workshop of the weaver was a rural cottage, from which he could sally forth into his little garden." Here the worker received the raw materials from a middleman, who made what profits he could.

With the coming of machines, however, the Domestic System gave place to the Factory System. From a free craftsman the worker became a " hired hand," selling his labor to the capitalist, who provided factory, machines, and material.

(ii) THE DEVELOPMENT OF WORLD TRADE

Owing to: (*a*) Improved communication. (*b*) Large-scale production, caused by the division of labor. (*c*) Commercial organization, e.g. banks, stock exchanges, insurance companies, joint-stock companies, cheques, drafts, bills of exchange.

(*a*) **Transportation:**

Roads. — The pioneers were Telford, Macadam.

Canals, and later Ship Canals, e.g. Suez (1869), Panama (1914).

The Locomotive. — First of any practical value constructed by Trevithick (1801). Stockton to Darlington Railway (1825). Stephenson's "Rocket" on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway (1830). First Railway in France (1828). In Germany (1835). First line over Alps (1854).

The Steamship. — Symington's steamboat on the Forth and Clyde Canal (1802). Fulton's steamboat at Paris (1803). The *Great Western* crossed the Atlantic in fifteen days (1838). Important inventions were the screw propeller and the turbine engine.

The Automobile. — Made successful by the "internal combustion" engine (1895) — an invention which made possible the aeroplane, when the Wright brothers showed that the problem was solved (1908).

(*b*) **Communication:**

The Telegraph. — Experiments of Cooke and Wheatstone (1837). First submarine cable from Dover to Calais (1851). First Atlantic cable (1866).

The Telephone. — Invented by Bell (1875), and improved by him and Edison.

Wireless Telegraphy. — Completed by the work of Marconi (from 1897).

Newspapers. — Steam printing press first set up by the *London Times* (1814).

Postal Service.

The Cinematograph.

(iii) INCREASE OF POPULATION

(*a*) *Western Europe.* — In 1800 the population of Europe is estimated at 180 million; in 1910 it numbered nearly 450 million. In 1800 there were 14 cities of over 100,000 inhabitants; in 1900 there were 140 such cities.

(*b*) *Overseas.* — The Industrial Revolution led to immigration to the thinly settled lands outside Europe. These lands became sources of the supply of foodstuffs and raw materials. The increase of population, however, is owing not to food-supply but to Science, which has lowered the death-rate.

By the end of the nineteenth century the period of immigration was drawing to a close, since the unoccupied lands were beginning to fill up, and the former surplus of wheat (e.g. from the United States) was needed to feed the population at home.

(iv) STRUGGLE BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOR

With the Factory System the separation between capital and the wage-earning proletariat became complete.

(*a*) **Trade Unions** are combinations of workmen for securing higher wages, shorter hours, and improved conditions. First appearing in Great Britain, they spread to the continent. By 1920 there were $8\frac{1}{2}$ million trade-unionists in Germany, 8 million in Great Britain, $1\frac{1}{2}$ million in France.

(*b*) **Socialism** includes : (1) State ownership of industry, i.e. land and capital ; (2) the distribution of the income of the State as wages among the workers.

Three pioneers of Socialism were :

(1) *Robert Owen* (1771–1858), who established an experimental factory at New Lanark (1800–1828). He aimed at the establishment of small coöperative communities, each self-supporting, and was at this time not a Socialist but a " benevolent " master. After 1828, despairing of converting the factory owners and the upper classes, he began to agitate among the workers, and became a Socialist in the proper sense of the word. He organized a

number of communistic experiments, the least unsuccessful of which was the settlement at Ralahine (1831).

(2) *Louis Blanc*, the French Socialist, who was prominent in the Revolution of 1848, and advocated the "right to work."

(3) *Karl Marx* (1818–1883), who wrote *Das Kapital* (1867), in which he maintained that Capital is a necessary stage in the development of production, and gives way to Collectivism, and advocated the "class war." In his *Communist Manifesto* of 1848 the programme of Socialism was first formulated.

(v) AN IMPETUS TO DEMOCRACY

The Industrial Revolution helped to bring about: (*a*) The Growth of Representative Democracy. (*b*) Social Legislation. (*c*) The Spread of Education.

Modern Democracy is, in the main, a result of the French Revolution. These ideas, however, were accelerated by the economic facts of the Industrial Revolution, especially since 1870.

(*a*) **Growth of Representative Democracy.** — The English Constitution furnished a model to the American Colonies, to revolutionary France, and in the nineteenth century to nearly all Europe. Belgium received a constitution in 1831. The constitution granted to Sardinia in 1848 was afterwards extended to the whole Italian peninsula. The Third Republic in France was established by the Constitution of 1875. Representative government in Spain dates from 1876. Portugal became a republic in 1910, with a constitution resembling that of France. The Swiss Federation consists of twenty-two cantons, with a democratic constitution established in 1848, and revised in 1874.

Germany, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, and Poland became republics in 1918.

The principle of representation is a " device by which, and by which alone, the area of effective government can be extended without the sacrifice of liberty. . . . Under any non-representative system . . . men always find themselves set before the inexorable dilemma, between freedom and weakness on the one hand and strength and tyranny on the other."

(*b*) **Social Legislation.** — The chaos of the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution was most evident in England. Other countries, like France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Austria, and the Scandinavian States, were able to take advantage of England's experience.

Labor legislation covers : (1) Hours and times of employment. (2) Sanitation. (3) Special regulations for unhealthy and dangerous industries. (4) Security against accidents, sickness, unemployment, old age.

By the Treaty of Versailles (1919) an International Labor Office was opened at Geneva.

(*c*) **Spread of Education.** — The French Revolution " was essentially the assertion of the natural rights of man, and, as a logical sequence, of the right of every child to be properly trained for life." The education of the poor, advocated in Switzerland by Pestalozzi (1746–1827), was first put into practice by Prussia after her defeat by Napoleon at Jena.

During the nineteenth century education, formerly left to the Church, passed into the control of the State, and was often used for the propaganda of nationality, e.g. by Napoleon in France, the Hohenzollerns in Germany, France and Germany

in Alsace, Russia in Poland. The State system of education is most highly organized in France and Prussia.

Influenced by the Renaissance, the schools of all nations, ignoring the vernacular, maintained a classical curriculum. In the nineteenth century, however, a wider curriculum, including the study of national literature, of history, and of science, began to force itself into the schools.

(vi) INCREASE OF WEALTH AND A HIGHER STANDARD OF COMFORT

" There is still poverty in Western Europe, but it is preventable poverty. Before the Industrial Revolution, judged by a modern standard, there was nothing but poverty."

XXXIV THE COMING OF SCIENCE

(1) THE TRIUMPH OF THE INDUCTIVE METHOD

The work of Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo (*see* Chap. V) paved the way for **Newton** (1642–1727) and his theory of gravitation.

Meanwhile, an improvement in the means of measuring had been brought about by the logarithms of Napier (1614) and by the calculus, the invention of which (*c.* 1673) was claimed by both Newton and Leibnitz.

After Physics, the next science to become exact was Chemistry, mainly owing to Lavoisier (guillotined during the Terror, 1794), who applied the balance to Chemistry.

The name electricity was invented by Gilbert (1600). In 1800 Volta invented galvanic batteries. But the chief pioneer of electricity is **Faraday** (1791–1867), who invented the dynamo.

Not until 1843 was the inductive method of Bacon developed by John Stuart Mill in his *System of Logic*.

(2) THE THEORY OF EVOLUTION

The " Nebular Hypothesis " of *Laplace* (1749–1827) harmonized with the geological conclusions of the nineteenth century, the pioneer being Lyell (1797–1875). This prepared the ground for the work of **Charles Darwin** (1809–1882), who, in *The Origin of Species* and *The Descent of Man*, built up his theory of the " survival of the fittest " in the " struggle for existence " by " natural selection " (1859). The Darwinian Theory still stands as the most plausible explanation of how plants and animals and men have developed. To-day " the fact of Evolution," says J. A. Thomson, " stands more firmly than ever; the uncertainties concern the *factors*." Spencer (1820–1903) in his *Synthetic Philosophy* extended the theory of evolution to the development of the universe as a whole — to life, mind, society, morals.

The theory of evolution has stimulated speculation, and researches seem to show that " the evolutionary view of nature, established in the biological and sociological sciences, is extended to physical science, not only in the development of planets and suns, but even in the chemical atoms, hitherto believed indestructible and eternal."

Note the influence of evolution on psychology, philosophy, sociology, and religion. History, ceasing to concern itself with the lives of court favorites and crowned heads, has developed into the study of the entire culture of a people, and includes sociology and anthropology.

(3) SCIENCE AND MODERN LIFE

Reference has been made to the fact that the Mechanical Revolution is based on Science. It is the application of Science to life which makes Europe to-day differ more

from the Europe of Napoleon than did Napoleon's Europe from that of Charlemagne. "Our world," says Van Loon, "is filled with the statues of great generals. . . . Here and there a modest slab of marble announces that a man of science has found his final resting-place. A thousand years from now we shall probably do these things differently, and the children of that happy generation shall know of the splendid courage and the almost inconceivable devotion to duty of the men who were the pioneers of that abstract knowledge, which alone has made our modern world a practical possibility."

The study of physics has furnished the two great forces of modern civilization — steam and electricity — and, as Kipling says, "Communication is civilization."

Chemistry has supplied the greater number of secondary inventions.

To Biology are due discoveries in medicine and surgery.

(i) **Industry,** e.g. the steam-engine, the steam-hammer; the dynamo; Davey's safety lamp (1815); synthetical production of useful compounds, especially from coal-tar products, e.g. aniline dyes, benzol, naphtha (the practical work of German chemists like Hofmann, after the discovery of the Englishman Perkin, 1856).

(ii) **Communication,** e.g. the locomotive, the steamship, the electric railway, the automobile, the aeroplane; wireless telegraphy (discovery of the Hertzian waves, 1887; invented by Marconi, 1897), and wireless telephony.

Printing machines (steam and electrical); paper manufactured from wood pulp; photography (Scheele, 1777); cinematograph.

Gramophone (its ancestor, the phonograph, was invented by Edison, 1889).

(iii) **Agriculture,** e.g. improvements in grain-raising and cattle-breeding; fertilizers; destruction of disease, e.g. work of Pasteur against epidemic disease of silkworms, and against anthrax.

The steam plough, the motor plough, reaping and binding machines.

(iv) **Domestic Life,** e.g. beet sugar, preserved fruits, and meat; gas lighting and heating (Murdock, 1792); electric light and heating.

(v) **Medicine and Surgery,** e.g. the researches of Pasteur (1822–1895), that all forms of fermentation, including putrefaction, are due to microbes, revolutionized the practice of medicine, e.g. elimination of typhus, yellow fever, hydrophobia. Lister applied the germ theory to surgery, and began the use of antiseptics (*c.* 1860). Improved sanitation and the use of antitoxins are also a result of the work of Pasteur.

Simpson, who used chloroform in 1847, began the use of anæsthetics in surgical operations. Röntgen discovered X-rays (1895).

(vi) **War,** e.g. the aeroplane and the tank, explosives, poison gas. The Great War (1914–1918) "owes its possibility to Science." In 1815 armies had still only powder and the flint-lock, and cannon were loaded from the muzzle.

XXXV THE WORLD WAR
(1914–1919)

(1) CAUSES

(i) THE STRUGGLE FOR COLONIES AND WORLD-TRADE

With the development of the Industrial Revolution and the scramble for world-trade there sets in a new era of

imperialism — the annexation of regions outside Europe, for: (*a*) An outlet for surplus population. (*b*) A supply of raw materials.

(*a*) **The British Empire.** — In 1815 Great Britain stood out as the leading world power. During the nineteenth century the British Empire continued to grow, until, by 1914, it included a quarter of the habitable area of the earth and a quarter of the earth's population.

(*b*) **French Colonies.** — France again became a great colonial power. She conquered Algiers (1830–1847), annexed Tunis (1881), and French Indo-China (1862–1907), and established protectorates over Madagascar (1896) and Morocco (1912).

(*c*) **Italy.**—After failing in an attack on Abyssinia (1895) Italy managed to seize Tripoli from Turkey (1912).

(*d*) **Russia** established a great Asiatic Empire — in Siberia from the Urals to the Pacific, and in South-West Asia to the borders of Persia and Afghanistan.

(*e*) **Germany,** which attained political union late, found that the most desirable lands were already occupied. She acquired, however, German South-West Africa (1883), German New Guinea (1884–1885), the Cameroons (1885), German East Africa (1886–1890), and Samoa (1900). In 1898 she began a programme of naval construction, and Great Britain found a new rival for sea-power, empire, and world-trade.

(1) After the defeat of China by Japan (1894–1895), which revealed the weakness of China, Germany, France, Russia, and Great Britain sought from the Chinese "spheres of influence." But the victory of Japan over Russia (1904–1905) and the establishment of the Chinese Republic (1912) foiled all plans of the European powers for the partition of China.

(2) Attempts of Germany to hinder France in Morocco failed, owing to the action of Great Britain, who supported France (1905–1906 and 1911).

(3) Plans for the control of the Balkans and of European and Asiatic Turkey were checked by the War of the Balkan League (1912–1913), at the end of which an enlarged Serbia barred the way to Constantinople.

The weakness of German diplomacy was that " in addition to thwarting Russia in the Near East, they simultaneously antagonized Great Britain by threatening her naval supremacy."

(ii) THE GROWTH OF NATIONALITY

The nineteenth century witnessed the growth of nationality, which was, however, often synonymous with imperialism — the crushing of subject nationalities and an aggressive foreign policy.

After the Franco-Prussian War, Bismarck, in order to safeguard his conquests, built up the *Triple Alliance* by alliances with Austria (1879) and Italy (1882). The isolation of France ended in 1891, when she signed with Russia the Dual Alliance. In 1904 she came to an understanding with Great Britain — the Entente, which became, in 1907, by a conciliation between Great Britain and Russia, the *Triple Entente*. France, indeed, had never abandoned the hope of recovering Alsace-Lorraine, and sought compensation for her lost provinces in Morocco.

(iii) THE ECONOMIC GROWTH OF GERMANY

The Peace of Frankfort (1871) left Germany the strongest power on the Continent.

For the first time there existed a force which directed the life of the whole nation — the extension of the Prussian principles and administration over the whole of Germany.

A country mainly agricultural developed into one of vast industries. Colonies were acquired and a merchant fleet was created. Above all, the strength of Germany lay in the organization of education and of scientific research. She became a great manufacturing power and the rival of Great Britain for commercial supremacy.

The success of Germany in war, science, and industry led to the spread of Pan-Germanism — a campaign of propaganda on behalf of the superiority of the German race.

(iv) THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN RUSSIA AND THE CENTRAL POWERS FOR THE NEAR EAST

Russia, the champion of the Slavs, desired to dominate the Near East, and to secure Constantinople. Her rival was Austria-Hungary, who, driven from Germany in 1866, could only expand towards the Balkans.

An agreement between Germany and Turkey planned the opening up of Asiatic Turkey by the Bagdad Railway: (1) Germany was to control Turkey, and Austria to control Serbia and Macedonia. (2) Turkey was to be strengthened against Russia.

Taking advantage of the weakness of Russia after her defeat by Japan (1904–1905), Austria, supported by Germany, annexed the Slav provinces of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The answer of Russia was to encourage the formation of the Balkan League, which led to the defeat of Turkey by Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece (1912–1913). The *Treaty of Bucharest* was a blow to the Central Powers, since: (1) It placed Serbia in the way of German expansion. (2) Humbled Turkey, the vassal of Germany. (3) Humbled Bulgaria, the friend of Austria. Serbia, indeed, aspired to unite under her rule the Jugo-Slav subjects of Austria — an aim which, if successful, would break up the Austrian Empire.

On the whole, it is probably true that, as Gooch says,

" The main cause of the conflict lay in the Near East, and its authors were Germany and Austria on the one side, Russia and Serbia on the other. . . ." The immediate cause was the murder of the Archduke Ferdinand by Jugo slavs at Serajevo and an Austrian ultimatum to Serbia.

(2) THE WAR

divides itself into five periods.

(i) FIRST GERMAN OFFENSIVE IN THE WEST (1914)

Germany, by violating the neutrality of Belgium, aimed at crushing France before the Russian armies could take the field. They reached the outskirts of Paris, which was saved by the French counter-attack in the six days' *Battle of the Marne*, which drove the Germans from the Marne to the Aisne. Hence, the war became a test of endurance.

France was aided by: (*a*) The neutrality of Italy, who by a secret agreement with France (1902) had agreed to remain neutral in case of war between France and Germany. (*b*) The British Expeditionary Force. (*c*) The Belgians before Antwerp. (*d*) The Russian offensive in East Prussia.

After the failure of the German attempt to seize the Channel ports, the struggle in the West degenerated into trench warfare from Switzerland to the North Sea.

At the end of the year Germany had: (*a*) Occupied the coal-fields of Belgium and North France, and the iron-fields of French Lorraine. (*b*) Crushed the Russian invaders at Tannenberg. (*c*) Secured the help of Turkey.

(ii) THE GERMAN OFFENSIVE IN THE EAST (1915)

(*a*) Italy, with whom France, Russia, and Great Britain signed the secret Treaty of London, joined the Entente.

(*b*) The Dardanelles Expedition, undertaken by France and England to capture Constantinople, ended in failure.

(*c*) The capture of Warsaw by the Germans resulted in: (1) An alliance of Bulgaria with the Central Powers. (2) The collapse of Serbia. (3) A step towards the Russian Revolution. (4) The production by Great Britain of munitions on a large scale.

(iii) SECOND GERMAN OFFENSIVE IN THE WEST (1916)

(*a*) A great German attack on *Verdun* failed.

(*b*) Rumania joined the Entente, but was quickly overrun by the Germans and Austrians.

(*c*) The sea-fight of Jutland between the Germans and British, although indecisive, confirmed the superiority of the British fleet. Henceforward, the Germans relied more and more on submarines, until, at the beginning of 1917, they began a campaign of unrestricted submarine warfare against the shipping of all nations, allied and neutral, in order to reduce Great Britain to starvation.

(iv) COLLAPSE OF RUSSIA AND ENTRANCE OF THE UNITED STATES (1917)

(*a*) After the Russian Revolution their ill-equipped armies broke up, and the Bolsheviks signed with Germany the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918). Rumania, now isolated, was forced to agree to the Treaty of Bucharest.

(*b*) A Franco-British offensive in Champagne and Flanders failed.

(*c*) Owing to Germany's unrestricted submarine warfare, the United States joined the Entente.

(*d*) After the battle of Caporetto and a successful Austro-German offensive in Italy, the Austrians threatened Venice.

(v) THE LAST GERMAN OFFENSIVE (1918)

The collapse of Russia enabled Germany to transfer forces to the Western front in order to make a supreme

effort before the United States could throw her full weight into the struggle. This offensive (March 21st to July 18th), the work of Ludendorff, consisted of:

(*a*) Thrust for Amiens — destruction of the British Fifth Army (March).

(*b*) Thrust for the Channel ports in Flanders — checked by the British (April).

(*c*) Thrust between Soissons and Rheims — held by the French (May).

(*d*) Offensive across the Marne on Rheims — checked by the French. This was the climax of the German effort.

Under Foch, now supreme Commander of the Allies, the French, British, Americans, and Belgians began a great counter-offensive. By the Second Battle of the Marne the Germans were driven back again to the Aisne (July), and by the beginning of November they were driven almost out of France and from a large part of Belgium, and were forced to agree to an armistice.

Meanwhile —

(*a*) Bulgaria — allied offensive from Salonica produced the surrender of Bulgaria. This and

(*b*) British victories in Syria and Mesopotamia brought about the surrender of Turkey.

(*c*) Austria-Hungary — a great Italian victory on the Piave resulted in the break-up of the Austrian Empire:

(1) The triumph of Serbia encouraged the Jugo-Slav provinces to throw off the Hapsburg yoke.

(2) A Republic was proclaimed at Vienna.

(3) A Republic was proclaimed in Hungary.

(*d*) Revolution in Germany, the proclamation of a Republic in Berlin, and the flight of the Emperor William II to Holland, forced Germany to ask for an armistice.

o

(3) THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES (1919)

Subject to two reservations: (*a*) the interpretation of Clause 2, and (*b*) that the restoration of invaded countries included compensation " for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany, by land, by sea, and from the air," the Allies had agreed with Germany to a peace on the basis of *Wilson's Fourteen Points*. (1) No secret diplomacy. (2) Freedom of the seas. (3) Removal of economic barriers. (4) Reduction of national armaments. (5) Impartial adjustment of colonial claims. (6) Evacuation of Russian territory, and Russia to be given full opportunity for self-government. (7) Restoration of Belgium. (8) Return of Alsace-Lorraine to France. (9) Re-adjustment of Italian frontiers on lines of nationality. (10) Application of the principle of nationality to the peoples of Austria-Hungary; (11) to the peoples of the Balkans; (12) to the non-Turkish peoples in the Ottoman Empire. (13) An independent Polish State. (14) Establishment of a League of Nations. A " Wilson peace," however, proved impossible.

The Peace Conference was dominated by the " Big Four " — Clémenceau, the President of the Congress (France), Lloyd George (Great Britain), Orlando (Italy), and President Wilson (United States).

In addition to the Treaty of Versailles with Germany, the Allies concluded the Treaty of St. Germain (1919) with Austria, the Treaty of Neuilly (1919) with Bulgaria, the Treaty of Trianon (1920) with Hungary, and the Treaty of Sèvres (1920) with Turkey (but this was replaced by the Treaty of Lausanne, 1923).

(i) ESTABLISHMENT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

In the main, the work of Woodrow Wilson.

(1) League to consist of: (*a*) A permanent Secretariat, with headquarters at Geneva. (*b*) An Assembly of all members. (*c*) A Council — the " Big Five " and four other members.
(2) Disputes to be submitted to a Permanent Court of International Justice.
(3) No member to resort to war within three months after the award.
(4) If any member of the League in contravention of its agreements resorts to arms, such a member is *ipso facto* " deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the League," who are to proceed against it by the blockade, which is automatic on all members, and the Council may even recommend military and naval action.
(5) Armaments to be reduced.
(6) No treaty to be binding unless registered by the League (Monroe Doctrine exempted).
(7) " The well-being and development " of backward races forms " a sacred trust of civilization."
(8) Members to : (*a*) Maintain fair and humane conditions of labor. (*b*) Treat justly native inhabitants under their control. (*c*) Take international action for the control of disease.

(ii) GERMANY SURRENDERED

(*a*) In Europe.

(1) *To France* — Alsace-Lorraine; the coal-mines in the Saar Basin. The final ownership, French or German, of the Saar Basin — *not* of the coal-fields — to be settled in fifteen years by a plebiscite.
(2) *To Poland* — Posen and West Prussia.
(3) *To League of Nations* — Saar Basin (until the plebiscite), Danzig (to become a free city).

Plebiscites to determine the future of:

(*a*) Parts of East Prussia and Silesia. Eastern area voted to join Poland; larger western area to remain German (1921).

(*b*) Schleswig. Northern area decided to become Danish; southern area to remain German (1920).

(*c*) Malmedy — voted to join Belgium (1920).

(*b*) **All her Colonies,**

which were to be administered under mandates from the League of Nations.

(*a*) German East Africa — mandate to Great Britain and Belgium.

(*b*) German South-West Africa — to Union of South Africa.

(*c*) Togoland and the Cameroons — divided between Great Britain and France.

(*d*) Kiao-Chau — To Japan (Japan agreed to return it to China at Washington Conference, 1921–1922).

(*e*) German Samoa — to New Zealand.

(*f*) Pelew, Caroline, Ladrone and Marshall Islands (North of Equator) — to Japan.

(*g*) German New Guinea, Bismarck Archipelago, and Northern Solomon Islands — to Australia.

(iii) **RUMANIA**

received Transylvania, the Bukovina, half the Banat, and Bessarabia.

(iv) **ITALY**

gained the Trentino, Trieste, and Istria.

(v) **GREECE**

gained the Ægean sea-board (from Bulgaria) and Thrace, from Adrianople to Chatalja (from Turkey).

Later, however, by the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), Turkey retained Eastern Thrace (to the Maritza), including Adrianople.

(4) RESULTS OF THE WAR

(i) THE ASCENDANCY OF FRANCE

Of the great states of Europe only France and Italy remained, since Germany, though retaining unity, was crippled by disarmament conditions and her losses in coal and iron. By Alsace-Lorraine France gained not only nearly two million people but the richest iron-ore beds of Europe. She controlled, too, the iron-mines of Luxemburg, which voted to enter the French Customs Union (1919), and obtained the outright ownership of the coal-mines in the Saar Valley.

(ii) COLLAPSE OF THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE,

which split into Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Hungary, and Jugo-Slavia, while parts went to Italy (the Trentino and her Adriatic possessions), Poland (Galicia), and Rumania (the Bukovina).

(iii) THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION,

which resulted in: (*a*) Four Independent Republics in the Baltic — Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, and Finland. (*b*) The rule of the Bolsheviks from Moscow. (*See* Chap. XXXII.)

(iv) THE RESTORATION OF AN INDEPENDENT POLAND,

consisting of Russian Poland, parts of West Prussia and Posen, part of Galicia.

(v) IMPETUS TO DEMOCRACY

The Great War removed the old autocratic rulers, who in 1914 controlled two-thirds of Europe. Germany,

Austria, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, and Finland became republics.

In Central and Eastern Europe a great land-holding nobility, long politically powerful, lost its monopoly of the soil, which in Russia, Hungary, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Italy, Rumania, the Baltic Provinces, and Germany passed into the hands of the peasants.

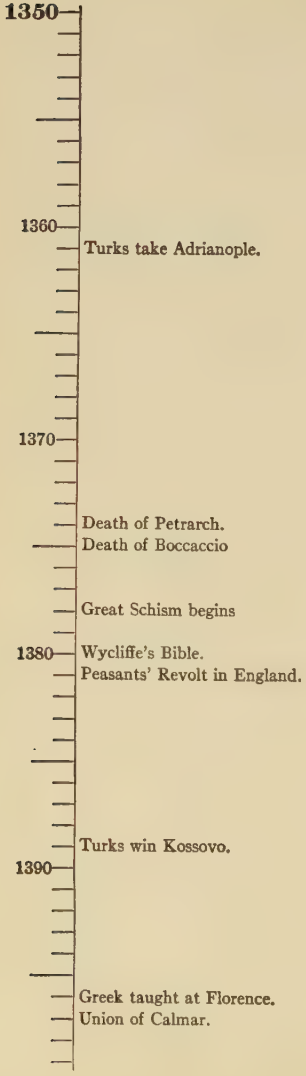
(vi) THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

" The recognition that the problems raised at Paris can only be solved by a permanent international organization is perhaps the greatest result " of the Treaty of Versailles.

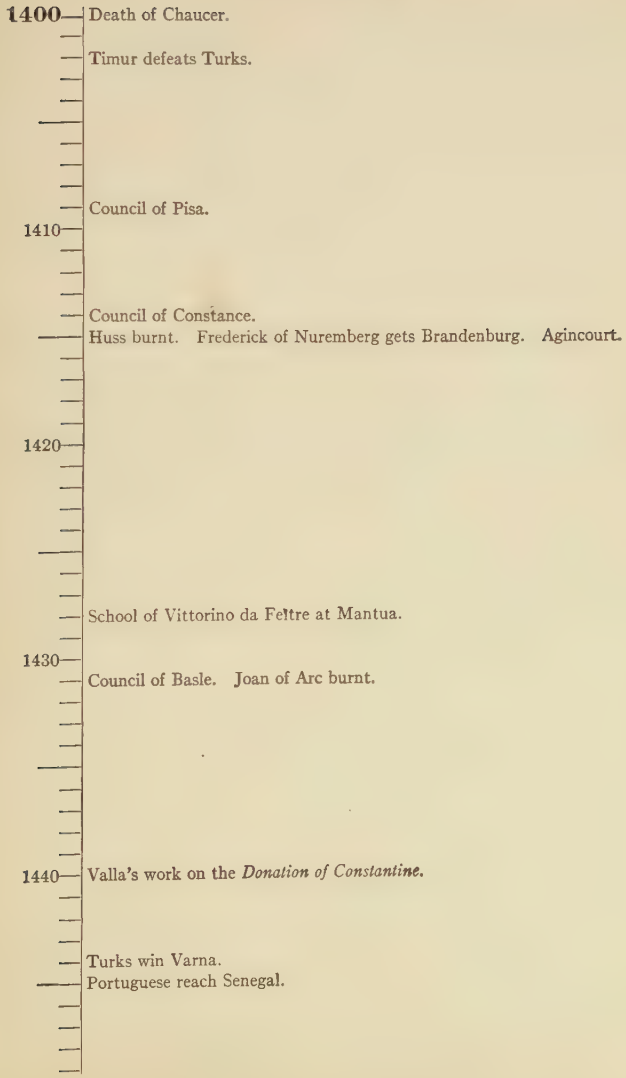
LINE OF TIME

1300–1349

1350–1399


1350
1360
Turks take Adrianople.
1370
Death of Petrarch.
Death of Boccaccio
Great Schism begins
1380
Wycliffe's Bible.
Peasants' Revolt in England.
Turks win Kossovo.
1390
Greek taught at Florence.
Union of Calmar.

1400–1449


1400
Death of Chaucer.
Timur defeats Turks.
Council of Pisa.
1410
Council of Constance.
Huss burnt. Frederick of Nuremberg gets Brandenburg. Agincourt.
1420
School of Vittorino da Feltre at Mantua.
1430
Council of Basle. Joan of Arc burnt.
1440
Valla's work on the *Donation of Constantine.*
Turks win Varna.
Portuguese reach Senegal.

1450–1499

1450 Gutenberg's Printing Press (?).
Mohammed II Sultan.

Turks take Constantinople. End of Hundred Years' War.

Wars of the Roses.

Election of Pius II.

1460

Louis XI.

Accession of Lorenzo the Magnificent.

1470

Maximilian marries Mary of Burgundy. Charles the Bold killed.

Union of Castile and Aragon.

1480

Charles VIII.

Wars of Roses end.
Diaz rounds Cape of Good Hope.

1490

Conquest of Granada. Columbus reaches New World. Alexander VI Pope.
Alexander VI's "Line." Maximilian I Emperor.

John Cabot's voyage.
Vasco Da Gama reaches India. Death of Savonarola.

1500–1549

1500 Cabral discovers Brazil.

Julius II Pope.

Henry VIII.

1510 Portuguese take Goa.

Balboa discovers Pacific. Leo X Pope. Machiavelli's *Prince.*

Marignano.

Greek Testament of Erasmus. More's *Utopia.*

Luther attacks Indulgences. Turks control Egypt.

Magellan's voyage begins. Charles V Emperor. Death of Da Vinci.

1520 Luther burns Papal Bull. Suliman the Magnificent. Death of Raphael.

Diet of Worms. Cortes conquers Mexico.

Turks capture Rhodes.

Gustavus Vasa King of Sweden. Clement VII Pope.

Peasants' War in Germany.

Pavia. Albert of Hohenzollern invested with Prussia.

Mohacs.

Sack of Rome.

The "Protest" at Spires. Turks fail before Vienna.

1530 The Schmalkdalic League.

Zwingli slain.

Pizarro conquers Peru.

The Society of Jesus founded.

Calvin's *Institutes.*

1540

Death of Copernicus.

Council of Trent opens.

Death of Luther. The Schmalkaldic War.

Ivan the Terrible takes title of Tsar. Death of Frances I.

1550–1599

1550

Death of Francis Xavier.
Death of Rabelais.

Peace of Augsburg.
Charles V abdicates. Philip II King of Spain.

Elizabeth Queen of England.
Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis.
1560 Death of Melanchthon.

Wars of Huguenots begin.

Death of Michael Angelo. Death of Calvin.
Conference of Bayonne.

Alva's "Council of Blood."

1570 Papal Bill deposing Elizabeth.
Lepanto.
Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Sea-Beggars take Brille.

Dutch save Leyden.

Pacification of Ghent. "Spanish Fury" at Antwerp.
Drake's voyage begins.
Parma Governor of the Netherlands.
The Union of Utrecht.
1580 Jesuits in England. First Essays of Montaigne. Philip II seizes Portugal.

Murder of William the Silent.
Parma takes Antwerp.

Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots.
Defeat of the Armada.

1590 Ivry.

Henry IV hears Mass.

Peace of Vervins. Edict of Nantes.

1600–1649

1600 — English East India Company.

Death of Elizabeth.

1610 — Murder of Henry IV. Dutch trade with Japan.

Michael Romanov elected Tsar.
Last meeting of Estates-General until 1789.
Dutch supreme in Moluccas.
Death of Shakespeare. Death of Cervantes.

Thirty Years' War. Union of Prussia and Brandenburg.
Execution of Oldenbarneveldt.
1620 — Battle of White Hill. Bacon's *Novum Organum*. The Pilgrim Fathers.

Richelieu real ruler of France.
Christian of Denmark invades Germany. De Jure Belli et Pacis published.

Capitulation of La Rochelle.
Edict of Restitution.
1630 — Gustavus Adolphus in Pomerania. The Day of Dupes.

Gustavus killed at Lützen.

Assassination of Wallenstein.
French take part in Thirty Years' War.

1640 — Revolt of Portugal from Spain. The Great Elector.

The Great Rebellion in England.
Mazarin chief minister.

Peace of Westphalia. The Fronde.
Execution of Charles I.

1650–1699

1650 — Death of Descartes.
Hobbes' *Leviathan*.
First war between English and Dutch.
John de Witt Pensionary of Holland.

Death of Cromwell.
Peace of the Pyrenees.
1660 — The Restoration in England.
Louis XIV in full control. Colbert chief minister.

Second war between English and Dutch. Newton's *Laws*.

War of Devolution.
The Triple Alliance. Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.
Death of Rembrandt.
1670 —

War of Louis XIV against Dutch, and third Anglo-Dutch war.

Fehrbellin.

Peace of Nimwegen.

1680 —
Louis seizes Strasburg.
Accession of Peter the Great.
Sobieski saves Vienna.

Edict of Nantes revoked.

War of the League of Augsburg.
William of Orange King of England. Locke *On Toleration*.
1690 —

William takes Namur.

Treaty of Ryswick. Accession of Charles XII of Sweden.
First Partition Treaty.
Peace of Carlowitz.

1700–1749

1700
Second Partition Treaty. Battle of Narva.
Prussia becomes a kingdom.
War of the Spanish Succession.
St. Petersburg founded.
Blenheim.
Ramillies. Turin.
Peter defeats Charles at Pultowa.
1710
Archduke Charles elected Emperor.
Peace of Utrecht.
Peace of Rastadt.
Death of Louis XIV.
Peace of Passarowitz.
1720
Death of Peter the Great.
1730
The Jenkins' Ear War.
1740
Frederick the Great invades Silesia.
Second Family Compact.
Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The *Spirit of the Laws.*
Dupleix controls the Carnatic.

1750–1799

1750 — Publication of the *Encyclopedia* begins.

Seven Years' War.

Pitt supreme in England. Rossbach and Leuthen. Plassey.

Quebec taken.

1760

The Social Contract published. Peter III, followed by Catherine II.

Peace of Paris. Peace of Hubertsburg.

Joseph II.

Watt's steam-engine.

1770 — "Spinning Jenny" invented by Hargreaves.

First Partition of Poland.

Louis XVI. Peace of Kainardji.

The American Revolution.

Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.

France joins the Americans. Death of Voltaire. Death of Rousseau.

Crompton's "Mule."

1780 — Death of Maria Theresa.

Joseph II abolishes serfdom.

Peace of Versailles.

Meeting of the Estates-General. Fall of the Bastille. The Rights of Man.

1790 — Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Burke's *Reflections*.

Death of Mirabeau.

Valmy saves the Revolution. First French Republic.

Execution of Louis XVI. Second Partition of Poland.

End of the Reign of Terror.

The Directory. Third Partition of Poland.

Bonaparte's Italian campaign. Nebular Hypothesis of Laplace.

Treaty of Campo Formio.

Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition.

The Consulate. Talleyrand Minister for Foreign Affairs.

1800–1849

1800 Marengo: Owen at New Lanark.
Treaty of Lunéville. The Concordat. **Trevithick's locomotive.**
Treaty of Amiens. Symington's steamboat.

Napoleon Emperor. Code Napoléon.
Trafalgar. Austerlitz. [Empire.
Jena. Continental System. Confederation of Rhine. End of Holy Roman
Treaty of Tilsit. French invasion of Portugal. Prussian serfs free.
Peninsular War.
Wagram. Lamarck's theory of evolution.
1810 Lines of Torres Vedras.

Napoleon's invasion of Russia.
War of Liberation.
Napoleon at Elba. Louis XVIII. Congress of Vienna.
The Hundred Days. The Bund. The Holy Alliance.

1820

War of Greek Independence begins.

The Monroe Doctrine.
Death of Byron.
Stockton and Darlington railway.

Death of Beethoven. Death of Laplace. Death of Pestalozzi.

Treaty of Adrianople.
1830 The July Revolution. [Italy."
Belgium independent. Polish revolt suppressed. Mazzini founds "Young
Death of Goethe. First Reform Bill in England.
The Zollverein.

Nasmyth steam-hammer invented.
1840

Mill's *System of Logic.*

Simpson uses Chloroform. French complete conquest of Algiers.
The February Revolution. Flight of Metternich.
Novara. The Roman Republic. Vilagos.

1850–1899

1850
- Coup d'état of Napoleon.
- Cavour premier of Piedmont.
- Crimean War.
- Treaty of Paris. Bessemer process.
- Cavour and Napoleon III at Plombières.
- Solferino. Darwin's *Origin of Species.*

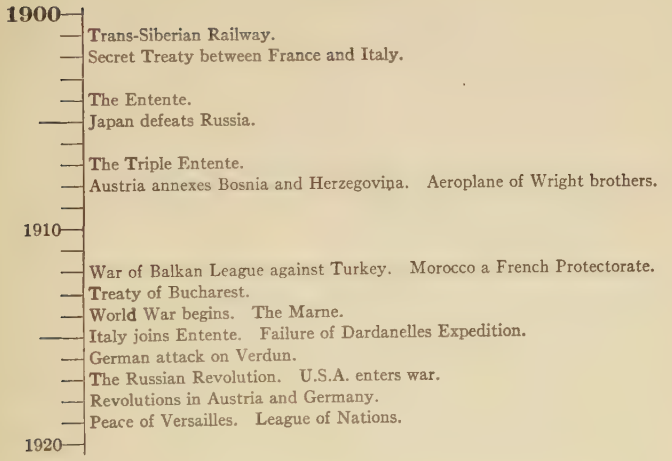
1860
- Garibaldi lands in Sicily. Lister uses antiseptics.
- Abraham Lincoln President. Kingdom of Italy. Serfs free in Russia.
- Bismarck leading Prussian minister.
- Denmark surrenders Schleswig-Holstein.
- Prussia defeats Austria. Venice united to Italy.
- *Das Kapial* of Karl Marx. The Dual Monarchy. Death of Faraday.

1870
- Franco-German War.
- The German Empire. Treaty of Frankfort. The Paris Commune.
- Third Republic established in France.
- Treaty of San Stefano. Berlin Conference.

1880
- The Triple Alliance.
- German South-West Africa.
- Death of Victor Hugo.
- The Hertzian Waves.

1890
- Fall of Bismarck. German East Africa.
- Dual Alliance of Russia and France.
- Death of Pasteur. Röntgen rays.
- French control Madagascar.
- The Boer War.

1900–1920


1900
Trans-Siberian Railway.
Secret Treaty between France and Italy.
The Entente.
Japan defeats Russia.
The Triple Entente.
Austria annexes Bosnia and Herzegovina. Aeroplane of Wright brothers.
1910
War of Balkan League against Turkey. Morocco a French Protectorate.
Treaty of Bucharest.
World War begins. The Marne.
Italy joins Entente. Failure of Dardanelles Expedition.
German attack on Verdun.
The Russian Revolution. U.S.A. enters war.
Revolutions in Austria and Germany.
Peace of Versailles. League of Nations.
1920

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